The Social Organization of Youth Experiencing Homelessness in Edmonton, Alberta

by

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Abstract

This dissertation used Institutional Ethnography (IE) to explore the experiences of street involved youth in Edmonton and to uncover how institutional, organizational, and social mechanisms shape their experiences. Drawing from Community-Based Participatory Research methods, I collaborated with Edmonton youth living in homelessness to explore their experiences of living on the streets during extensive downtown revitalization. This research used observations, interviews, focus groups and Photovoice methodologies to understand how youth enter into homelessness and their experiences once homeless. Youth participants identified many social issues they encounter daily. One prominent issue that youth encountered when navigating the streets of Edmonton was that they were often banned from local shelters for various reasons. Because of these bans, youth were often placed in unsafe situations such as sleeping in garbage bins, sleeping alone on the streets or turning to survival sex to get shelter. Through this dissertation, I sought to understand how service bans happen and the conditions that lead to youth banning. In exploring this phenomenon, I found that banning practices became the lens through which to understand and connect systemic issues that cause and perpetuate homelessness to the experiences of this specific group of youth. This Institutional Ethnography shows how the experiences of youth, including banning, are connected and organized by the socio-political ideologies of neoliberalism and colonialism that exist in Edmonton and beyond. By focusing on one specific issue in one organization, this IE illustrates how to connect larger systems organization to youth's lived experiences.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Cynthia Puddu. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the MacEwan University Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Voices from the Street: Stories of Vulnerable Youth in the Shadow of Urban Development”, No. 1516046, January 22, 2016 and the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Voices from the Street: Stories of Vulnerable Youth in the Shadow of Urban Development”, No. 00060829, April 18, 2016.

Dedication

Dropped off at the Hope with a bag and a purse. A smile on his face trying to hide the hurt. Me holding back tears to hide the anger and slightly fighting the guilt that I felt. No one knows my pain (you may only know my name). Words cut like a knife your words stinging like a blade. No no no no I tried so hard, I can't seem to see. I fail yet again. No scars to show my pain just the ones hiding away. I long for a place where I can be safe.

- Vicki-Lynn Moses, Lost in a Place Called Life

Land acknowledgement

To acknowledge the traditional territory is to recognize its longer history, reaching beyond colonization and the establishment of European colonies, as well as its significance for the Indigenous peoples who lived and continue to live upon this territory, and whose practices and spiritualities were tied to the land and continue to develop in relationship to the land and its other inhabitants today.

The University of Alberta respectfully acknowledges that we are located on Treaty 6 territory, a traditional gathering place for diverse Indigenous peoples including the Cree, Blackfoot, Metis, Nakota Sioux, Iroquois, Dene, Ojibway/ Saulteaux/Anishinaabe, Inuit, and many others whose histories, languages, and cultures continue to influence our vibrant community.

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This research would not have been possible without the support of all staff and management at Boyle Street Community Services and especially all the youth at the Youth Unit who allowed me into their lives. I especially want to thank my youth participants who shared their stories and invited me to be part of their lives for a brief period of time. Some of the participants in this project have passed away and I am grateful to have spent time with them. I also received financial support from the Government of Canada's Homelessness Partnering Strategy through Homeward Trust Edmonton's Community Research Projects funding, Grant MacEwan University Office of Research Services and Dr. Candace Nykiforuk, through her Applied Canada Research Chair, which was funded by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research in partnership with Public Health Agency of Canada and Alberta Innovates - Health Solutions.

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I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Dorothy Smith for her inspiring body of work in Institutional Ethnography and passion for learning. I was fortunate to have attended several courses with Dr. Smith and host her at Grant MacEwan University for a workshop. The time spent with her was truly a highlight of my life. I aspire to have her passion for research and learning for my entire life.

Finally, I have to thank my husband Scott, my children Gabriella and Daniela, and my parents for their support and patience.

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List of Abbreviations

AISH	Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped
BSCS	Boyle Street Community Services
CBPR	Community Based Participatory Research
CFS	Child and Family Services
EID	Edmonton Ice District
EPS	Edmonton Police Services
IE	Institutional Ethnography
PSH	Permanent Supportive Housing
SPDAT	Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool
VI-SPDAT	Vulnerability Index – Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool
WER	Winter Emergency Response

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose of the research

This journey began with the building of a hockey arena. While always being aware of Boyle Street Community Services (BSCS) as an inner-city agency in Edmonton, I was first introduced to the complexity of the work they did when I met a staff member in the fall of 2013 at a research symposium. I was very interested in how this organization assisted individuals living in poverty. I have been sensitive about the injustices of social inequity my entire life. I vividly recall seeing a film adaptation of Les Misérables as a child and being upset that the protagonist, Jean Valjean, was sent to prison for stealing a loaf of bread to feed his family. I engaged in volunteer activities with agencies that assist individuals living in poverty throughout high school and during my undergraduate degree. As a university professor in Health Promotion, I was interested in the causes of health and social inequity and wanted my students to learn about the inequities that exist in Edmonton. At the time I met the staff member from BSCS, I was developing a community service-learning course for MacEwan University and was interested in having my students connect with agencies such as BSCS. I started to meet with more staff from the Youth Unit at BSCS and some of my students spent time volunteering for the Youth Unit. Although I did not spend much time at the agency, I did meet regularly with the first staff member I met to get a better understanding of the work he did and the needs of the youth that accessed services there. This was also the same time that construction for Rogers Place, a new NHL arena in downtown Edmonton, began. It was through these conversations that I came to understand the concerns that both youth workers and youth had about the changes occurring in the downtown core. I was motivated to start this research to get a better understanding of how the changes to the urban landscape engulfing BSCS would affect the youth that accessed services and to try and find solutions for the issues they encountered.

As I was interested in using a Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) approach, I wanted to spend more time at the agency getting to know both the youth and staff better. I began volunteering at the BSCS youth unit in the fall of 2015. I spent most of my time there talking to staff and assisting them with daily tasks such as putting out food for youth, helping sort through donated clothes and toiletries and keeping the Youth Unit clean. By being there, helping with everyday tasks, the youth that spent time at the drop-in centre

became used to my presence. This helped me to make connections with them. Even though there were several youth that I came to know very well, because the Youth Unit is a drop-in centre, youth that I had never met before would come for one day and then I would never see them again. Even youth that were "regulars" would often not show up for days or weeks for a variety of reasons. Because of this, I also used my time there to get to know the staff very well and gained a deeper understanding of what the youth encountered through my conversations with them.

Although my initial reason for starting this research was to understand how the urban redevelopment was affecting youth at BSCS, by spending time there and seeing the day to day struggle that both youth and staff encountered, I became aware of the systemic issues influenced by neoliberal and colonial ideologies that create and continue to perpetuate the conditions that lead to homelessness and ultimately increase health inequity. Some of the issues were perpetuated by the rapid changes happening in the area. However, I began to see that many of the conditions that create these systemic issues have perpetuated for decades and were related to key determinants of health such as access to adequate housing, poverty and Indigenous status (Raphael, 2009). For example, Gaetz, Gulliver, and Richter (2014) identified that reduced federal funding for affordable housing since the 1980s has been closely linked to an increase in homelessness rates in Canada. Marshall, (2015) describes how Indigenous Peoples of Canada experience higher levels of social and health inequities as a result of the legacy of settler colonization and residential schools. This is evident in the over representation of Indigenous youth that are homeless in Canada (Thistle, 2017). The more time I spent at BSCS, the more I began to see the health inequities experienced by this group of youth and I wanted to understand how it was happening.

My initial observations identified problems such as not enough staff to adequately support the amount of youth that access BSCS services and a general lack of resources, especially for youth who have mental health concerns. There have been several attempts in Edmonton and across Alberta to reduce the number of homeless individuals with initiatives such as the *Plan to Prevent and Reduce Youth Homelessness* (Government of Alberta, 2015) and *Edmonton's 10 Year Plan to End Homelessness* (Edmonton Committee to End Homelessness, 2009). These plans discuss the need to eliminate chronic homelessness and reduce the number of youth on the street. Edmonton's 10-year plan was developed in 2009

and since then there have been several individuals that have been housed through the initiatives in the plan. However, 10 years later, the city still has a large number of homeless individuals and in the summer of 2019, the number of homeless encampments rose to 1900 from 864 in 2018 (City of Edmonton, 2019b; Pratap, 2019). The issue of chronic homelessness was evident in my time spent at BSCS. As I noted in my reflections and field notes, the most striking issues were of youth who continually cycled in and out of addiction, poverty and homelessness. Several of the youth I met in 2015 had been accessing services from BSCS for at least one or two years. Four years later, in 2019, several of those same youth, some of whom participated in this project, were still cycling in and out of homelessness, some died or were dying from drug and alcohol related complications and others were precariously housed and struggling with poverty. When looking back at my reflective journals from 2015 and most recently in May 2018, I regularly found entries where I discussed feelings of frustration and hopelessness from seeing the same things every day and would ask myself how my work could even begin to help the individuals I was meeting at Boyle Street.

May 2, 2018 Boyle Street reflection

> Quick meet with the social worker. Usual craziness in youth unit. She's on her own because [a staff member] was off. She's waiting for [a staff member] to get back so she can then leave to go do other things. Always short staffed. It's the usual stuff and my feeling of helplessness that I obviously can't do anything to change things. This vicious circle. It makes me want to focus even more on prevention, but then there is the dilemma that the current homeless youth still need assistance. And funding is always the issue. Not enough money to fund everything that is needed. I just felt so hopeless when I left. And again, ask the question, what is my presence doing? I don't think it's harming but is there a point. I know the awareness aspect is important but how far does that go. Again, the so what of all this? Especially for the immediate. Maybe long term, but what about the immediate.
>
> I don't know if we'll ever answer that question.

As I spent more time at BSCS, I felt that engaging in research solely to understand what was happening in the lives of youth was not enough. I wanted to undertake a research approach that was activist in nature and that could lead to political mobilization and change. I was regularly frustrated by the fact that systemic change within the homeless serving sector was so difficult and felt that my research would not be meaningful. I did not want to solely focus on the effect of health inequity on street involved youth in Edmonton. As has been

suggested by Coburn (2000), I wanted to understand the contextual causes in order to identify areas where change could take place to reduce the inequities homeless youth face. I was drawn to the work of Dorothy Smith, whose development of Institutional Ethnography (IE) was motivated by a need to identify systemic issues that shape the lives of individuals in order to create change in the system (Smith, 1987).

IE is a method of social inquiry that examines the lived experiences of individuals and uncovers the unseen and underlying social and organizational structures that affect these experiences (Smith, 1987). Smith refers to this as "investigating the everyday world as problematic" (p 160). This is the starting point of inquiry to critically examine how institutional organizations and policies shape the lived experiences of community members (Grahame & Grahame, 2007). The inquiry in IE begins from the standpoint of those living or working in the environment as they are seen as the experts of their experiences. Once the problematic is identified, IE goes behind the scenes to unearth how policies, institutional organizations and social relations affect people (Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Devault, 2006). In effect, IE connects policies to the lived experiences of communities.

I began this journey with the intent to use CBPR methods as they have traditionally been used to empower participants to create change (Israel, Schulz, Parker, & Becker, 1998; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). However, as with other IE researchers that have used CPBR, I found that the concept of empowerment, which is often cited as the goal of CBPR, was much more difficult to enact than to endorse. Moreover, it is often a concept thrust upon participants by social scientists but does not necessarily constitute the real experiences or aims and desires of the people that we work with (Nichols, Griffith, & McLarnon, 2017).

Not only does Smith's work seek to understand how people's lives are socially organized, but it also challenges the role of the social scientists, and as a result CBPR, in potentially perpetuating the systemic issues that organize the lives of individuals. This is not to say that CBPR methods cannot be used within IE. Participatory methods such as Photovoice can be effectively used as a means to understand the lived experiences of participants. However, rather than move towards interpreting the findings by using thematic analysis or using a predetermined theoretical lens, IE uses the data collected through those methods to identify concrete connections between people's lived experiences and socio-

political factors that organize people's lives. Showing how people's lives are connected to policies and socio-political factors can help identify areas where change can occur (Nichols et al., 2017; Pence, 2001). For example, in Nichol's (2014) IE of youth homelessness, she set out to identify how young people experience the phenomena commonly referred to as 'falling through the cracks'. She was able to identify complex institutional practices that youth must navigate such as bouncing around from one agency to another and completing different paperwork in order to be eligible for assistance. These challenging and frustrating practices were identified as potential 'cracks' that could be addressed in order to improve youth's experiences in the future.

For my research, I felt IE was the best approach to identify where change needed to occur in the youth homeless serving sector. Although I knew that realistically, change would not occur quickly, I felt that IE was the most effective approach to use as a starting point for understanding where I could go on to work with community partners to create changes through my role as a professor and public health professional in Edmonton. My research would clarify the connections between how youth's lives are organized and systemic issues such as how shelters are funded and staffed. Identifying these connections and sharing them with policy makers, funders and upper management of homeless serving agencies would give them a better understanding of service gaps that exist in the system.

This research project began with the intent to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the experiences of street involved youth in Edmonton?
2. How are youth experiences shaped by urban revitalization?
3. How do institutional, organizational and social mechanisms shape street-involved youth's experiences?

However, as I explored IE further, I came to understand that the entry point of inquiry needed to come from the embodied experiences of youth and not a pre-determined set of questions. As I spent more time with the youth participants and with youth workers, many social issues that youth encountered were uncovered. The social issues youth identified will be explored further in Chapters 5 -7. I used the social issues identified by the youth as an investigation of systemic issues that perpetuate youth homelessness and health inequity.

Of the many issues identified by youth, being banned[1] from accessing various emergency and drop-in shelters in Edmonton was an experience common to all the youth I encountered. Because of these bans, youth were often placed in unsafe situations such as sleeping in garbage bins, sleeping alone on the streets, or turning to survival sex to get shelter. Through this IE, I sought to understand how banning happens specifically at BSCS and what creates the conditions that lead to youth banning. In exploring this phenomenon, I found that the practice of banning became the lens through which to understand and connect the systemic issues that cause and perpetuate homelessness to the experiences of this specific group of youth. Although there were connections to policies related to banning and youth experiences, this inquiry led me to problematize socio-political ideologies that are affecting homelessness not just in Edmonton, but provincially, nationally and globally. In my dissertation, I explored how focusing on a specific issue, such as banning practices through one specific organization, can provide a window to illustrate how individuals' lives are organized and influenced by the practices of a specific organization and outside socio-political factors as well. This exploration demonstrated how focusing on personal narratives can help understand how larger systems are organized (Nichols, personal communication, 2018).

Background and contextualization

In this next section, I will give some background into the downtown redevelopment that set the stage for my project and how the experiences of youth during this redevelopment shaped my dissertation journey.

Edmonton Ice District development

The Edmonton Ice District (EID) is the fastest growing, publicly subsidized development of its kind in North America (Scherer, 2019; Staples, 2015). It is being developed over 25 acres of land in the middle of Edmonton's downtown core. It will be a large multi-use space "that combines offices, condos, a public plaza, sports, entertainment and shopping all in one location" (icedistrict.com). The development is being created in two phases. Currently, the first phase includes a state-of-the-art NHL arena (Roger's Place), which opened in September 2016, a community rink, several new office towers, and a hotel.

[1] The terms banned and barred are used interchangeably by youth and staff at shelters. Both terms will be used in this dissertation.

Construction is currently underway to create movie theatres, multi-use housing, a public plaza, 208,000 square feet of retail space and several new parkades. Phase 1 of ICE district is scheduled to be completed in Fall 2020. A second phase of development has been proposed which would see expansion to the north of the Phase 1 development to complete the 25-acre development, however, no specific timeline for this development has been proposed (icedistrict.com).

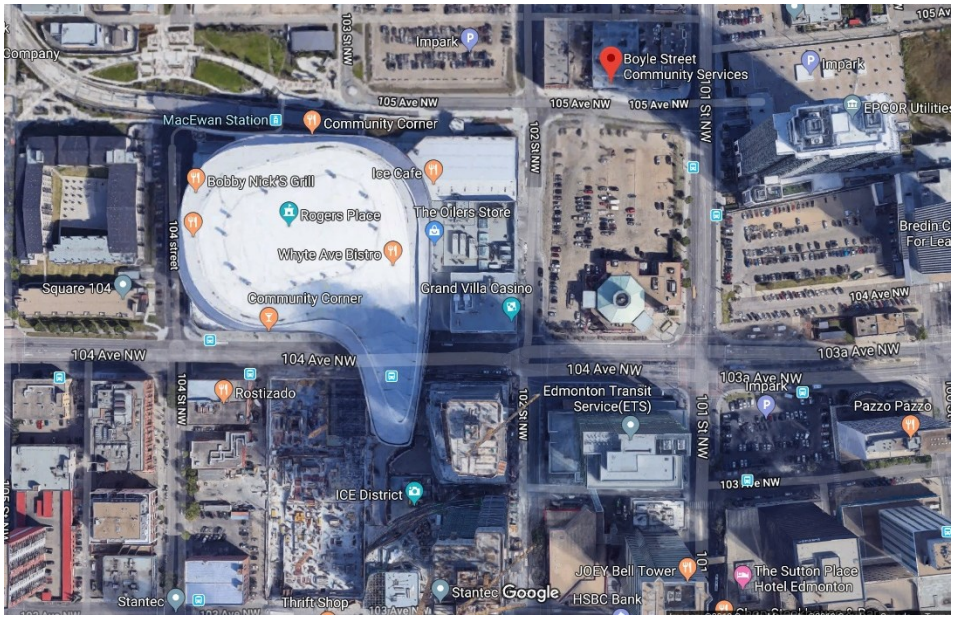


Figure 1.1 Map of Boyle Street Community Services location
(Imagery ©2019 Google, Imagery ©2019 CNES / Airbus, Maxar Technologies, Map data ©2019. Retrieved November 12, 2019)

Boyle Street Community Services

In the same area, across from the EID (see Figure 1.1), there are a number of vulnerable, homeless and street involved youth who access services from Boyle Street Community Services which is a non-profit Edmonton agency that was established in 1971. The agency assists those that are homeless and live in poverty. BSCS uses a harm reduction approach in all their programs and policies. A harm reduction approach is one where programs and policies implemented to assist individuals that use drugs and alcohol do not require a reduction in use or abstinence from those substances in order to quality for services (Hyshka et al., 2019).

The community members that access BSCS services are extremely poor and vulnerable, and many have serious health concerns, addiction and mental health issues.

BSCS assists over 12 000 individuals – 70% of Indigenous descent – to access several supports and services that are available. The services include "cultural, outreach, mental health, housing, family and youth and employment services as well as a drop-in where the community can enjoy great food, warmth and companionship" (boylestreet.org). BSCS serves individuals of all ages and offers resources for aboriginal, LGBTQ, and new immigrant communities. Within BSCS there is a Youth Unit, which is a drop-in centre for youth aged 16-26 that is a safe space to stay during the day and provides food, showers, and clothing. Along with assisting with daily needs, the Youth Unit helps youth with housing, legal advocacy and accessing healthcare.

In the early stages of this project, youth workers at Boyle Street Community Services were concerned about negative impacts of the EID development on the vulnerable youth accessing their services (BSCS Staff, personal communication, 2015). Specifically, BSCS staff felt the EID may push youth out of the community and make it more difficult for them to access the essential resources they need to survive. This fear was consistent with what has happened to marginalized youth in other Canadian cities that underwent revitalization (Gaetz, 2004; Kennelly & Watt, 2011). In a qualitative study looking at the perceptions of marginalized youth living near one of the host neighbourhoods of the 2012 London Olympics, Kennelly and Watt (2013) found that youth felt that, while their neighbourhoods were being cleaned up and sanitized for patrons of the Olympic games, the youth were being over policed and regularly asked to leave these neighbourhoods.

Similar issues of displacement happened after the opening of the new NHL arena in Edmonton (Kafara, Scherer, & Davidson, 2017). Community members and staff from BSCS discussed the displacement of over 80 residents who lived in the MacDonald Lofts that happened as a direct result of the EID development (Lakoff, 2019). The MacDonald Lofts, located in the building next to BSCS, housed many hard to house residents who also accessed services at BSCS (BSCS Staff, personal communication, 2018). In April 2017, residents of the MacDonald Lofts were given notice that owners of the EID had bought the building and residents were given one year to find new accommodations (Mertz, 2017). While most of the residents were able to find housing elsewhere, many of them were housed in locations that were a significant distance from BSCS which has caused distress in many of these individuals (Kafara et al., 2017). For example, one resident was housed in St. Albert, a small

city that is over 14 km away from BSCS with limited transit access to Edmonton's downtown core (BSCS staff, personal communication, 2018).

Along with displacement that occurred for many community members, both youth workers and youth stated that youth and other members of the homeless community identified an increased police presence around the BSCS building. They felt they were being over policed and pushed away from the area. In an interview with two participants, I asked them about their experiences during Rogers Place events:

> C: So, what about now that there are events happening downtown, almost every night, what's it like at the Rogers Place?
>
> Koda[2]: So much cops. So much cops….
>
> Vicki-Lynn: And like the cops, they're like get out of here right we don't need you.

Similar experiences were highlighted in an Edmonton Journal article that identified that a "great divide" was occurring in Edmonton's downtown since the opening of Rogers Place (Johnston, 2017). In this article, police discussed their interaction with an intoxicated individual who would normally spend time in front of the Boyle Street Community Services building in the evenings:

> *Around 10 p.m. on a recent autumn evening, an obviously intoxicated man stumbled along 109th Street, then sat on a ledge outside Hudsons Canada's Pub.*
>
> *Three police officers on the Jasper Avenue beat team instantly approached the man.*
>
> *The man mumbled that he was looking for the Hope Mission.*
>
> *"What are you doing over here?" Const. Marty Franco asked. "You can't be round here. You know that. You're drunk."*
>
> *Franco told him he was going in the wrong direction, and called for a police van to transport the man north of Rogers Place.*
>
> *"That's a prime example of some of the clientele that we get that venture over here," Franco said. "That gentleman was absolutely and completely intoxicated. So he doesn't belong over here with these good people, walking around intoxicated.*
>
> *"We know he's not going to be over here for at least a few hours. So we put a Band-Aid on that situation, for right now."* (Johnston, 2017)

[2] The names of all informants except Vicki-Lynn have been changed to protect their identities. Vicki-Lynn requested that I use her name.

The comments from the officer show that individuals experiencing homelessness in downtown Edmonton are often not seen as worthy individuals compared to the 'good people' that attend Rogers Place events. It also shows how policing of the homeless population is a form of social control over this population. This exchange and the related media article, along with the experiences of the youth participants in this study, illustrate the concerns that individuals who access services from BSCS had about the impact of the downtown revitalization were coming to fruition.

The Johnston (2017) media article also highlighted the misconceptions that people have about members of the homeless community and street-involved youth, which is consistent with previous academic research in this area. During urban revitalization, community members believe that the presence of street-involved youth will have a negative impact on the new developments by making the area unsafe and undesirable to frequent (Gaetz, 2004; Wasserman & Clair, 2011). These misconceptions and stereotypes that street-involved youth are violent, uncaring "punks" (Evenson, 2009; Kidd & Davidson, 2007) add to the social stigma experienced by those youth. Research shows these stereotypes to be far from the truth (Evenson, 2009), and often come from community members who do not understand the complexities of street life and have only seen negative behaviours of youth. However, street-involved youth are very concerned with the well-being of others and are concerned for their communities (Kidd, 2009; Kidd & Davidson, 2007). In areas of urban renewal, they share the same visions for renewal as other community members and want to be involved in the changes that occur (Wasserman & Clair, 2011).

Homeless youth often state that there is a lack of opportunity for them to be heard and to express themselves (Kidd, 2009). When youth share their stories, they feel that others will understand what they are going through. Sharing narratives can be therapeutic for vulnerable youth, helps enhance their self-esteem, and importantly, gives them a path to social inclusion (Toolis & Hammack, 2015; Wang, Cash, & Powers, 2000). One of the initial goals of this study was to share the voices of youth with other key stakeholders in the downtown district such as business leaders, city staff and the policy makers. As key stakeholders in the community, street involved youth deserved a say in the changes that were occurring in their back yard to avoid deepening the social inequities they experienced in the community as a result of the EID. Homeless youth in Edmonton stated that people who have not lived on the

streets cannot know what life on the streets is like (Youth Unit community member, personal communication, 2015). Thus, to better understand the experiences of homeless youth during the EID redevelopment, I conducted a Photovoice project with the youth participants as one of my data generation methods for my IE. The Photovoice method will be further explored in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation. This approach also provided a forum for the youth to share their experiences of living through the EID redevelopment with members of the community.

This dissertation research began with the intent to understand how the redevelopment of Edmonton's downtown core was shaping the experiences of homeless youth. However, the process undertaken to understand the influence of the redevelopment effort on the lives of youth led to a need for a better understanding of the range of systemic issues that affect the daily lives of homeless youth. While this project has moved beyond the focus of the EID development, it is important to keep the rapid changes of the downtown core in mind and the socio-political factors under which this development is occurring. These factors continue to perpetuate and possibly exacerbate the systemic barriers to safe shelters and affordable housing that homeless youth encounter on a daily basis. The ability for youth to access spaces like the Youth Unit at BSCS is vital to their safety and survival (Bloomfield, Gilchrist, Smyth, & Almond, 2017).

Importance of youth drop-in centres

The BSCS Youth Unit plays a very important role in how youth navigate their daily lives. Street involved youth are often fleeing situations that are dangerous. When becoming homeless, not only are they losing housing, but they are often breaking ties with once trusted adults, leaving school, losing friends and other supports (Gaetz, O'Grady, Buccieri, Karabanow, & Marsolais, 2013). Drop-in centres are often the first point of contact for many newly homeless youth and provide connections with safe caring adults (Karabanow & Naylor, 2013; Pedersen et al., 2016). Not only do these centres provide youth with food, shower access and a safe space during the day, but staff at these centres help connect youth with other supports such as housing and mental health workers (Pedersen et al., 2016). These connections are usually provided without judgement. Drop-in centres are often seen as more accepting and accommodating than overnight shelters (Pedersen et al., 2016; Slesnick et al., 2008). Overnight shelters often have zero tolerance for being intoxicated and/or have more

rules and feel more like institutions (Krüsi et al., 2010). Youth who use alcohol and other drugs often have a hard time finding shelter because of these rules and therefore often spend nights on the streets. Drop-in shelters are often seen as a safe place after a long night of trying to stay safe on the streets. This is true of the BSCS Youth Unit. Most of the youth that access services at BSCS deal with varying degrees of mental health issues and/or addiction. They tend to go to BSCS as opposed to other drop-in shelters because they are either banned or ineligible to go to other shelters in Edmonton if they are high or intoxicated when they arrive. BSCS is one of the few places in Edmonton where youth can go when they are currently high or drunk. While services at BSCS are offered to all youth without judgement, there are still times when staff ban youth in order to comply with the BSCS banning policy. I will discuss the specific nature of banning and the banning policy at BSCS in Chapter 7.

Shelter banning practices

BSCS is considered a low-barrier drop-in with respect to substance use and levels of intoxication and is known across the homeless community and across other not-for-profit agencies as a place where staff are more lenient. However, there are still times where staff do resort to banning youth from either the Youth Unit or the larger centre. Minor incidents such as yelling at staff or minor altercations with other community members can result in up to a three-day ban while more serious incidents such as assault and drug dealing can result in much longer bans (Boyle Street Community Services, 2018). While these bans may be justified in most cases, they lead to youth not being able to access the services they need. Being banned can lead to further problems including being disconnected from important workers and community (Herbert & Beckett, 2010). Often when youth are banned, it is because circumstances in their day have led them to be stressed, which can then lead to escalating behaviour (Bloomfield et al., 2017). Youth workers try to intervene, but because of lack of resources and training and the sheer number of individuals in the space, they may not be able to deescalate the situation, leading to behaviours that justify a ban. This can then aggravate the already difficult situation a youth is in and can escalate to more risky behaviour (field note, 2018).

Bloomfield, Gilchrist, Smyth, and Almond (2017) have explored the issue of youth banning in Edmonton in the past. Their work investigated why and when banning happened at a variety of organizations including drop-in centres, overnight shelters and public spaces

such as the Edmonton Public Library. They found that bans were often used to regulate behaviour in youth. An interesting finding in Bloomfield et al.'s research was that youth often did not know how long their bans would last and often thought they were banned for life. These issues were echoed in my research and will be explored further in Chapter 7. Bloomfield et al. also found that being banned significantly decreased access to services that were important to youth and contributed to feelings of worthlessness and rejection.

Other research has focused on general banning practices from public spaces (Herbert & Beckett, 2010) and how these banning practices kept individuals away from needed supports and a sense of community in Seattle. Herbert and Beckett interviewed 41 individuals, three-quarters of whom identified as homeless, who had been officially banned from public spaces by the police. Similar to Bloomfield et al.'s (2017) research, they found that banning was used to reduce crime and increase order. They also found that the behaviours that led to them being banned (violence, property damage) occurred as a result of systemic oppression and lack of support for individuals who experienced poverty and homelessness. Because the bans made it more difficult for the individuals, they interviewed to access their social networks and essential services such as drop-in centres and social service agencies, it created an oppressive burden on these individuals. Bloomfield et al. concluded that, while banning may lead to short term social order from the perspective of the police and higher-level officials, they may in actuality increase disorder. By banning individuals and cutting them off from important services, the police are perpetuating the systemic problems that may cause someone to act in ways that leads to banning.

Banning and neoliberal ideologies

Systemic oppression that creates the conditions that lead to banning can be connected to neoliberalism. Neoliberalism emerged in the 20th century as a political project of the capitalist class that was losing power, influence and wealth to the working class (Harvey, 2007). It gained momentum in the late 1970s and early 80s when politicians such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan adopted the tenets of neoliberalism as part of their governance (Harvey, 2007).

While there is debate on whether neoliberalism is an ideology, an economic policy or a political movement and also debate on a definition of neoliberalism, most agree on the common elements (Springer et al., 2016). n essence, when referring to neoliberalism, we are

referencing political, economic and social arrangements that emphasize a free market system that is unregulated and moves away from government involvement. In fact, supporters of neoliberalism believe that the market is a more efficient and liberating institution and should organize human affairs. To that end, neoliberalism supports a move away from government run and collectivist forms of planning in areas such as housing, education and health care. This then leads to support for privatization and commodification of these public resources. The belief that there should be less government involvement in the market and in people's lives means that neoliberalism moves responsibility away from the government and to the individual. This individual responsibility is not just in the free market but in areas such as education and health. By removing the responsibility from the government to the individual it relocates systemic issues of inequality, poverty, racism and homelessness away from the state and to the individual (Harvey, 2007; Holborow, 2015; MacLeavy, 2016; Sparke, 2016; Springer et al., 2016; Wacquant, 2012).

Reagan's adoption of these political and economic arrangements helped improve the US economy in the 1980s and because of the influential American voice throughout the world, the message of these benefits spread and continues to be indoctrinated into people's everyday lives (Harvey, 2007). Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) refer to the blind acceptance of neoliberalism as being "celebrated with sheep-like enthusiasm" (p.4), while Peck and Tickell (2002) have stated that "Neoliberalism is everywhere" (p. 308). This has led to the global hegemony of neoliberalism throughout many political systems. Reagan's adoption of these political and economic arrangements helped improve the US economy in the 1980s and because of the influential American voice throughout the world the message of these benefits spread and continues to be indoctrinated into people's everyday lives (Harvey, 2007). Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) refer to the blind acceptance of neoliberalism as being "celebrated with sheep-like enthusiasm" (p.4), while Peck and Tickell (2002) have stated that "Neoliberalism is everywhere" (p. 308). This has led to the global hegemony of neoliberalism throughout many political systems.

While adoption of neoliberal ideals may have helped the economy in the 80s, it did not come without severe consequences. Focusing on deregulation, the smaller role of government and less taxation of corporations has led to increased income inequality in North America and across the world (Wacquant, 2012). The move toward privatization of public

resources such as health care and education has led to inequity of access to these resources. Austerity measures used by neoliberal governments often lead to severe cuts to public services (Sparke, 2016).

The focus on individualism under neoliberalism promotes a culture of meritocracy where the belief is that those who are wealthy and successful under a free market system have gained their success on their own merits, regardless of race or class, and without the assistance of government or others (Littler, 2017). If someone is not able to compete in the market economy, it is because of a deficit in their character. This means that if someone finds themselves living in poverty and/or homelessness or suffering from addiction and in need of any sort of government assistance, they have gotten into that situation through their own deficits and deviance (Wacquant, 2009). Because of this, they are not seen as worthy in a neoliberal society (Littler, 2017). It is also felt that those who are deemed deficient or deviant in the eyes of the neoliberal state must be surveilled and regulated by the state in order to maintain social control. This has led to what Wacquant (2009) refers to as a "state policy of criminalization of the consequences of state-sponsored poverty" (p. 58). In other words, individuals are being penalized for their poverty that has been created as a result of neoliberal policies. While banning behaviours such as drug dealing and violent assaults can be seen as a justified means of maintaining social control, behaviours such as yelling at others and minor assaults are also enforced because they do not meet the western normative ideal of citizenship (Schneider et al., 2010). Banning as experienced by youth in this study can be seen a way of maintaining social order and control.

Banning and settler colonialism

Because many of the youth that experience homelessness in Edmonton are Indigenous, the experiences that create the conditions that lead to banning can also be attributed to settler colonialism. This is a distinct form of colonialism that is premised on settlers that came to North America as "inherently better humans" than the Indigenous peoples who lived on the land they were seeking to occupy (Veracini, 2015, p. 13). This led to a desire to eliminate Indigenous peoples from the land, assert state control over the land and the replacement of Indigenous peoples with that of the settler society (Barker, 2012; Barker & Lowman, n.d.; Veracini, 2015). In Canada, an attempt to eliminate Indigenous peoples was done through the development of the Indian Residential Schools where the

government's goal was to eliminate the "Indian problem" by trying to "kill the Indian in the child" (Canada Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, p. 349). Regan (2010) identified how settler colonialism persists in what she sees as a psychic blindness on the history and effects of the Indian Residential School system. Many Canadians are still unaware or in denial of the intergenerational trauma that has resulted because of the legacy of Indian Residential Schools. The legacy of settler colonialism also impacts youth's experiences on the streets and can also influence banning of these youth. Indigenous youth are often targeted by police officers and face discriminatory policing (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011). These practices could be attributed to the notion of the settler as a "better human" and the need to assert control over Indigenous peoples.

This Institutional Ethnography will expand on previous research and move further into the inquiry of the social organization of youth's experiences by showing how the experiences of youth, including banning, are connected to and organized by the socio-political ideologies of neoliberalism and settler colonialism that exist in Edmonton and beyond. By focusing on one specific issue in one organization, this IE illustrates how to connect larger systems organization to youth's lived experiences. In the next chapter, I will give a detailed background and description of Institutional Ethnography, provide a review on how IE has been used in similar studies, and discuss how Photovoice was used within this IE.

Description of Chapters

The remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows: in Chapter 2, I will give a detailed background on Institutional Ethnography. I will explore its origins and use as activist research and discuss how it has been used in CBPR. In this chapter, I will also discuss how Photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997) was used as a method to generate data and will further explain how Photovoice can be used within IE. Chapter 3 will describe the methods I used to recruit participants, generate and analyze data for the IE. Chapter 4 includes the results of the Photovoice portion of this study. Chapters 5 and 6 are the ethnographic portion of the study and include in depth accounts of the youth and the issues they encounter. Chapter 7 is an ethnographic account of youth banning and includes comprehensive accounts from youth and staff from BSCS on how banning happens and is enforced. Chapter 8 is a detailed discussion connecting the experiences of youth to the socio-political ideologies that organize their lives.

Chapter 9 concludes this dissertation with recommendations for future research and the future direction of my research program.

Chapter 2: Methodology

In this chapter, I will describe and detail the alternative sociology of Institutional Ethnography and my use of it in this dissertation to understand how youth's lives are organized and experienced. A discussion of how IE is used in activist and Community Based Participatory Research will also be included. I will conclude the chapter with a discussion of how, within IE, other methods such as Photovoice can be used to generate data as part of one's investigation. Institutional Ethnography is an alternative sociology with a unique analytic vocabulary. Throughout this chapter, I will define key terminology that is most relevant for the purposes of this study. For a more inclusive list of IE terms, I have provided a table of terms taken from Bisaillon's (2012) *Analytic Glossary to Social Inquiry Using Institutional and Political Activist Ethnography*. The table can be found in Appendix A.

What is Institutional Ethnography

Institutional Ethnography, developed by Dorothy Smith (1987), is a departure from mainstream sociology. Smith (2005) states that it goes beyond a traditional sociological method of inquiry and offers it as an alternative sociology. She describes it is an "alternative to the objectified subject of knowledge of established social scientific discourse" (p 10). At a basic level, the difference between IE and traditional sociology comes from the origin of inquiry. In IE, one can identify the focus of inquiry from an actual place in the world, rather than from a review of the literature or a particular sociological concept such youth deviance. The focus of inquiry is simply an invitation to start with what actual people know and have experienced, rather than to start in the terms and relevancies of academic discourse.

Smith began this method of inquiry when working to create and run a women's research centre at the University of British Columbia (Smith, 2005). The method developed because of tensions Smith felt between her world as an academic and as a mother, and the world that sociology attempted to represent as hers. These tensions came into view in *Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology* (Smith, 1974) where she explored how, in writing about women's perspectives in sociology, she did not see herself or women's experiences in general represented in the male dominated academy. She identified this as "bifurcation of consciousness" (p 9) that establishes two ways on knowing, one way that comes from the lived experiences of individuals and another that comes from the hegemonic and patriarchal ideas that are used to describe those experiences.

The sociology that aimed to represent her was written by men, from their viewpoint, and did not coincide with her actual lived experience. Smith (2005) felt that theory and research methods in traditional sociology concealed positions of power and treated participants as objects. It objectified from the outside, as onlookers rather understand the lives of participants from their actual lived experiences. It could also be said that traditional sociology and the academy in general were perpetuating systemic issues that affect marginalized populations through the power of academic discourse. Rather than perpetuate these issues and treat individuals as objects of study, Smith wanted to do research for people.

Smith's experiences and frustration with how this concealed power was used in academic discourse led to her movement away from researching the world under a theoretical lens and situating the research from the standpoint of the person or group being studied (Smith, 2002). This new paradigm of sociology that is IE explores the world from the standpoint of those that are affected to understand how the world works and is put together with the aim of helping them change it (Smith, 1990).

Smith (1987) refers to this type of inquiry as "investigating the everyday world as problematic" (p 160). The problematic is a conceptualization of everyday happenings in that world and exists before application of concepts or theories (Grahame, 1998). The "everyday problematic" is the starting point of inquiry to critically examine how people's experiences are shaped by social relations (Grahame & Grahame, 2007). With homeless youth, the inquiry may surround the difficulties of youth navigating the cultural, structural and social changes occurring during community revitalization. We would then investigate how policies, political narratives and other forms of social relations shape the experiences of homeless youth. During this project, youth stated that they were often banned from shelters for various reason which then caused them to engage in risky activities such as sleeping in dumpsters or resorting to survival sex in order to have a place to stay and sleep. The practice of banning at youth shelters and drop-in centres was the problematic that I explored and further explicated in this dissertation.

IE seeks to map out the social relations that influence people's experiences (Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Devault, 2006). Social relations in IE do not only refer to relationships between individuals but are the interplay of real material relations of actual people and the ways these relations are organized socially to unfold as they do (Campbell & Gregor, 2008;

Smith, 2006). Social relations refer to how our lives are organized both from within (local) and outside (extra-local) our immediate lived world. By living in an organized social word, people participate in social relations. For example, many homeless youth use the public Edmonton Transit System without paying. If approached by transit officers, they will be asked to present a bus pass or proof of bus fare payment. Without proof of payment, youth will get ticketed. This transaction connects young people and transit guards into extended social relations that connect their interaction to policies created on transit use, payment procedures and processes for the enforcement of payment. These policies and economic relations are extra-local social relations that impact homeless youth at the time of being approached by a transit officer. Smith (2005) refers to extra-local relations that shape people's lives through socially organized power as 'ruling relations' (Campbell & Gregor, 2008).

Ruling relations are relations from afar or behind the scenes that influence the lives of individuals. Ruling relations coordinate how people navigate their world. They come in the form of what George Smith (1995) refers to as politico-administrative regimes such as bureaucracy, institutions, corporations and governing bodies. The purpose of IE is to go behind the scenes and unearth how those relations are organized and how they affect people. For example, with regard to banning practices, on a superficial level, it may seem that banning occurs because youth have engaged in a behaviour such as being abusive towards a staff member that is deemed unacceptable. However, when exploring further, we can identify the reason for the abusive behaviour was due to the stresses of not being able to get housed. That inability to get housed was a result of politico-administrative regimes that create housing policies which dictate who gets housed and how.

To understand how the unseen and underlying social and organizational structures organize the lives of individuals, IE begins its inquiry from the embodied experiences, or the standpoint, of those living or working in the environment where the research takes place. The standpoint is the place where the researcher begins to understand the "the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience" (Smith, 2005, p. 10). IE takes the stand that the subject of the research is the expert in their world. Therefore, the researcher views the social organization of that world from the standpoint of the subject (Smith, 1987). The standpoint of the subject allows the researcher to see "the embodied character of [their] experience"

(Nichols, 2008) and understand that their "experience and knowledge of the world is a function of where and how [they are] materially grounded in it" (p. 686). This standpoint gives us insight into how the subjects' everyday lives are socially organized.

At times it is necessary to understand the organization of people's lives from varying standpoints in order to understand how political-economic processes shape people's lives over time (Nichols, Griffith, & McLarnon, 2017). In my project, the standpoint of youth and what happened in their daily lives was the entry point of inquiry. However, it was also important to understand the work of youth workers, managers and people who work in funding agencies to trace how these people are institutionally linked and led back to the organization of youth's lives.

The work that people do helps the Institutional Ethnographer gain insight into the social organization of their lives. Work in IE is not used in the traditional sense of the word that means employment. Rather, in what Smith (2005) refers to as the *generous* conception of work, it is a term that describes anything a person does in their daily lives that takes time and energy. For youth in this project, *work* describes everything they do on daily basis from walking around looking for food and shelter, spending time at the drop-in centre, meeting with other youth and with housing support workers, interacting with law enforcement, picking cans and bottles, and rummaging through dumpsters. While the focus in this project was on youth work, I captured detailed accounts of work by youth workers and managers at the drop-in centre to help understand how their work processes are also connected to the social organization of youth's lives.

Use of texts in Institutional Ethnography

IE proposes that we are ruled by external forces that we often do not see or know. Its aim is to identify problematic institutional practices with the intent to change them (Smith, 2005). It does this by explicating how people are connected to the external social relations that rule them, and ultimately, IE findings are meant to be accessible and usable for participants – like a road map. The findings can be used to identify where system gaps and failures may be occurring and suggest how to address the gaps. Textual analysis is a key aspect of IE that helps examine how institutional processes shape people's daily lives. Whereas textual analysis in traditional ethnography may be used to understand cultural practices from a theoretical perspective (Fairclough, 2003), IE uses textual analysis to

empirically map out the social relations that shape experiences for individuals. For example, in this project, mapping the youth's experiences made an empirical connection between government policies on how drop-in centres are funded, which impacted how these centres are staffed and ultimately the experience of youth being banned.

In contemporary society, social and ruling relations are impacted and organized using various forms of texts. These texts can take the form of institutional policies, online reporting systems, intake forms and many other forms and reports (Nichols, 2014). Texts can also take the form of material beyond print media to include film, photography, video, radio sources and social media (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013). The use of these forms by human services workers is referred to as "activating texts" in IE (Campbell & Gregor, 2008). Activating texts are a type of social relation. For example, when a youth worker fills out an intake form with marginalized youth, they are following an organizational rule that was implemented by management or a higher bureaucratic level. The process of filling out the form dictated by the higher levels of management impacts the youth's experience. Mapping out the social relations that lead to the creation and implementation of texts like an intake form or transit enforcement ticket helps to display how institutional processes are embedded in and shape people's everyday experiences.

In this project, I used texts such as the BSCS banning policy to explore how banning practices are textually mediated. The method of collecting texts is described further in Chapter 3. This examination of how the lives of youth were organized around the various texts will be discussed further in Chapters 5 through 7.

Activist nature of Institutional Ethnography

Institutional Ethnography was born out of Smith's desire to use her skills as a sociologist to enact change during the women's movement (Smith, 2005). Because of this, it is often used in political and social activist research (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013; Smith, 1990). However, to effectively enact change we must move away from questioning dominant political regimes based solely on assumptions and political theorizing. It is important to empirically examine how things happen. Without this empirical understanding, it can lead to emotionally charged reactions that may not lead to concrete changes (Smith, 1990). For example, in George Smith's (1990) work on understanding the policing of gay men in Toronto, he found that activists in the gay community thought the policing of gay men was

being caused by the "homophobia" and "AIDS-phobia" of the police. However, when delving further into how the policing practices "actually" happened, it was the fact that the Canadian Criminal Code was criminalizing the behaviour of gay men and not because of the police officers specifically. This empirical analysis helped reveal how the problematic of raids in gay bath houses in Toronto was happening by mapping the experiences of one group to a specific law in Canada's Criminal Code.

The intent of IE is to connect or map relations from one local site to another and reveal power relations that are not visible (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013; Smith, 1987). As activist researchers, the process of making these connections is essential in order for the transformational process of creating change to occur. When identifying the "everyday world as problematic" we are taking everyday experiences that are often seen as routine or mundane and showing how they are organized by other bureaucratic or politico-administrative regimes (Smith, 1995). This organization is created as a way of regulating and controlling everyday events and becomes normalized by all those affected.

In a 2018 presentation to Grant MacEwan University, Dorothy Smith explored this concept further by stating:

> Institutional Ethnography has discovered and sought to explore the relations of our contemporary world that objectify consciousness or subjectivity and organization. By objectify I mean here that these relations have come to exist and operate independently of particular individuals and that they stand over against us and yet they enter into our local actualities of our bodily being and we are active in them. (Smith, 2018, MacEwan Presentation)

In the context of youth's everyday lives and banning practices, we need to uncover how banning happens in order to understand where effective change in the practice in order to reduce the risk to youth. In talking to youth and staff at BSCS, I found that banning was an act that was normalized by youth, staff and management. It was discussed as part of their normal everyday experience. It was often identified as just another part of their day and something that happened because of how the youth acted or what in IE is often referred to as a "taken-for-granted" practice (Bisaillon, 2012). In actuality, banning occurred because of how the shelter system was organized and funded. I wanted to understand how this practice institutionally had, as Smith stated "come to exist and operate independently of particular individuals and they stand over against us and yet they enter into our local actualities of our

bodily being and we are active in them" (Smith, 2018, MacEwan Presentation). Doing an IE helped me to understand how this practice became normalized and uncovered how the social and ruling relations of youth's daily worlds organized their lives. For the youth, youth workers and as an activist researcher, this understanding was an important first step in creating systemic change.

IE has been used by others to understand the experiences of homeless youth. In an IE on the lives of homeless youth in Ontario, Nichols (2014) examined the work of street-involved youth, which she described as anything they do to stay well and survive such as find safe places to sleep, maintain friendships, talk to youth workers, etc. Work in this context was "all of the things young people do in institutional setting (whether they are deemed institutionally effective or not), as well as the activities of any practitioner who works with youth, as youth work" (p 6).

Institutional Ethnography can be used to amplify the voices of marginalized individuals or groups that are being oppressed under ruling relations. It can examine and uncover how social organizations in several settings can oppress individuals from the standpoint of those individuals with the intent to create change (Campbell & Gregor, 2008). For example, in a study on the social organization of wound clinic nurses, Waters (2015) showed that the way nurses' work was organized and coordinated by a new centralized booking system at times led to patients not being diagnosed properly and suffering devastating consequences. Waters used her IE to begin to create change in how work happened in certain wound care clinics.

Bisaillon and Ells (2014) did an IE on how the lives of Canadian immigrants living with HIV and their access to HIV treatment was organized. After talking to Canadian immigrants living with HIV, they found that the Immigration Medical Exam that immigrants must go through put them in vulnerable situations and caused undue stress and harm. They used their findings to identify the burdens faced by immigrants living with HIV and to recommend possible changes to immigration medical practices that would help reduce burdens and health inequities in this population.

One of the most instrumental examples of the activist potential of IE was the work of Ellen Pence and her advocacy work for the safety for battered women (Pence, 2001). Pence used IE to examine how criminal court cases around battered women were institutionally

organized and textually mediated. Using the stories of battered women, police officers and other individuals that worked in the criminal justice system, she was able to map out the complexities of case management from the time when a woman calls 911 to when her abuser is apprehended. In this way, she investigated and identified specific times when a victim's safety could be compromised. Her work led to the creation of the Duluth Model, a domestic abuse intervention model that has been used across the United States to help reduce domestic violence against women (Gondolf, 2010).

Institutional Ethnography and Community Based Participatory Research

As stated in the introduction, I was inspired to use Institutional Ethnography because of its activist potential and ability to uncover institutional processes that can lead to systemic change. However, because of the connection I had with Boyle Street Community Services, I also wanted to use a Community Based Participatory Research approach as much as possible in my work so the youth and BSCS staff could become active agents in the research process. Institutional Ethnography is often done in coordination with community organizations, and although participatory methods of data generation can be used, it is usually not done using a participatory approach for all aspects of a research project.

One reason IE is not usually participatory is because of the epistemological differences between IE and Community Based Participatory Methods. In its purest form, CBPR engages community members and participants in all aspects of the research process, from forming of the research question, to data generation, to data analysis and dissemination, giving ownership in the outcomes of the research (Baum, MacDougall, & Smith, 2006; Fletcher, 2003; Israel et al., 1998; Minkler, 2000; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). If done well, it provides conditions for communities to take power and control over the research process. CBPR achieves the broader goal of improving communities by allowing them to define the problem and thereby bringing attention to social problems they are facing. This in turn can empower communities to bring about social change (Stoecker, 2008).

While the ultimate goal in IE is also to bring about change in a community, the approach to acquire knowledge and understanding is different. CBPR works with communities to bring attention to the needs of the community, but it is not necessarily seeking to "discover how people's experiences are socially organized" (Nichols et al., 2017, p. 112). IE works with community members to gain an understanding of how things work,

but the goal is to uncover how people's lives are organized by ruling relations. To uncover this organization, it is important to focus on the institutional practices rather than the individual (Mykhalovskiy & McCoy, 2002; Nichols et al., 2017). This analytic work can then take the researcher away from the community they are working with, which is incongruent with participatory research practices.

Another reason that CBPR and IE can come into conflict is due to Institutional Ethnography's examination of institutional practices within an organization. Through IE, the institutional practices of an organization that a researcher is working with will come under scrutiny. While this reflective process can lead to a better understanding of how to activate necessary change, it may be seen as threatening and not be welcome by some organizations (Mykhalovskiy & McCoy, 2002). Although the process of turning the lens on an organization may be problematic for organizations, if an IE is done in the true spirit of Dorothy Smith's work, organizational reluctance can be avoided. At the end of "The Everyday World as Problematic", Smith reminds the reader that those of us doing IE and connecting the ruling relations to the actualities of people's lives are "responsible in what we write to those for whom we write" (1987, p 224). If, as researchers, we explicate and map out the ruling relations and only share this within the academy without consultation with the community, this may put an organization in a negative light, exacerbating the reluctance to work with researchers. On the other hand, using the tools of CBPR, we can work together with an organization, sharing what was learned in the IE to improve the practices within an organization for the betterment of everyone involved (Nichols et al., 2017). This way, the activist spirit of IE can be embodied by using CBPR methods of engagement with community.

In my work with this project, I encountered tensions between CBPR and IE. At the start of the project, I worked closely with the organization and youth to ensure that I understood the needs of the community and that the research was being done in conjunction with community as much as possible. However, because of the population I was working with, this was not always possible. First of all, the nature of the youth I was working with made it difficult to maintain meaningful connections with them to collaborate in this project. While I tried to keep them involved throughout the project, their lives took them in different directions. Some youth were incarcerated, and I could not see them, some unfortunately

passed away, and for others, working with me was not a priority in their complex lives. If I could not connect with the youth, I would consult with youth workers and managers who knew the youth best to ensure the work was still meeting the needs of the community. As the project progressed and I moved more to understanding institutional practices while analyzing the data, I also started to feel more disconnected with the youth and youth workers because I was not able to spend as much time with them as I had during the early stages of this project. To try and limit this disconnection, I would reach out to youth and youth workers through social media and would try to visit the Youth Unit as often as possible. While this helped to maintain the relationships with the individuals I had worked with, it was not the same depth of connection as in the early stages of this project.

I also felt tension when further examining banning practices and how policies and institutional guidelines affected youth. Doing the IE was definitely putting a lens on the BSCS organization. While the focus of my research was to uncover how ruling relations organized the lives of youth in order to improve their lives, I did not want to bring harm to an organization that is dedicated to helping youth and preventing youth homelessness. I was concerned that my work could uncover practices that might be interpreted as harmful or negligent. To try and mitigate this I would remind myself that again, this work was responsible for those "to whom we write" (Smith, 1987, p. 224) and this included both the youth and the youth serving organization I was working with. As the project progressed and I moved further into my analysis, I informed the directors, managers and staff at the organization that my work would be uncovering institutional practices that may be problematic for them. For example, if the banning practices were interpreted as harsh or unnecessary by certain staff members, it could lead to tensions between staff and management. They were aware of this and were comfortable with this form of scrutiny for their organization as long as the information identified was an accurate representation of the organization. As my analysis unfolded, I would go back and forth with the organizational informants to share my findings. The information that was uncovered through data generation and analysis helped BSCS to understand the organization better so they could address areas where improvements could be made.

Data generation in Institutional Ethnography

Data generation in Institutional Ethnography can take many forms such as interviews, observations, field notes, focus groups and analysis of texts. The purpose of data generation in IE is to understand how the lives of individuals are organized and what happens to lead to the outcomes people describe. It starts with entry-level data to learn about the daily lives from the standpoint of the individuals involved and then moves to further generation of data from an institutional and policy level. Entry-level data is collected by talking to standpoint informants. It is the point of entry to understand their work and how their lives are coordinated. The knowledge that is gained from entry-level data helps point the researcher in the direction of who to speak with to further in the inquiry and gain a better understanding of the social and ruling relations that are organizing the lives of the standpoint informants (Deveau, 2009). In this project, I wanted to use entry-level data generation methods that helped me learn how the lives of youth were organized from their standpoint. Photovoice was one method that I found very useful and was instrumental in identifying the problematic of youth banning. In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss what Photovoice is and why it is useful as a method of entry-level data generation in IE.

Overview of Photovoice

Photovoice is a participatory action research method that emerged in the early 1990s from the work of Wang and Burris (1994, 1997). The theoretical foundations of Photovoice come from Freire's theory of critical consciousness, feminist theory, and documentary photography. Wang and Burris (1997) took the idea of documentary photography and gave cameras to people who did not have access to these tools. They used the cameras to illuminate the struggles and needs of communities from the perspectives of individuals in communities that had been historically silenced. Their purpose in using this method was to promote critical dialogue in marginalized population using visual images.

In Photovoice, researchers give cameras to the community participants and ask them to take photos of their experiences. Once photos have been taken, participants choose several photos that are meaningful to them and then sit with a researcher who facilitates discussion about the photos. The researcher asks why the photos are meaningful to the participants and starts a critical dialogue about community and social issues that the participants encounter on a daily basis (Nykiforuk, Vallianatos, & Nieuwendyk, 2011; Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang et

al., 2000). For example, in this project, the discussions of youth's photos led to dialogues about how poverty affected them, and the things youth did to deal with not having an income or housing. The dialogues that occurred during the Photovoice project ultimately uncovered the practice of banning as a common phenomenon that occurred with youth and became the focus of inquiry

Photovoice has been increasingly used in community-based health and health promotion research. It is an effective strategy "by which people create and discuss photographs as a means of catalyzing personal and community change" (Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano, 1998, p. 75). It has been successfully used to inform policy decisions and affect change at the community level (Cannuscio et al., 2009; Wang, 2006). The main purpose of Photovoice is to allow participants to "identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique" (Wang and Burris, 1997, p. 369). In a review of literature, Catalani and Minkler (2010) found that Photovoice was an effective technique used to collect rich descriptive data in various settings. It is also often helpful when working with language barriers or with populations where individuals cannot express in detail their thoughts and feelings. Since its inception in 1994 by Wang and Burris, it has been shown to help empower women and vulnerable populations in different environments and settings by giving participants an opportunity to share their voices through pictures. In effect, using the Photovoice process allows the community members involved to move away from being participants in the research and become co-researchers in the project.

Use of Photovoice in Institutional Ethnography

Photovoice can be methodologically compatible with IE. Like IE, it is used by those who seek to understand experiences from the place of the people living the experience – it is their viewpoint, their voice, their standpoint. This is in part due to both approaches having roots in feminist theory and feminist practice of consciousness raising (Smith, 2005; Wang & Burris, 1997). Both IE and Photovoice researchers recognize that the people you are working with, whose standpoint you are taking, are experts in their community. If standpoint in IE is to represent the "actualities of their everyday worlds" (Smith 1987, 107), then Photovoice is a method that can offer a visual story of the everyday world. Importantly, Photovoice is not just a visual representation of a person's experience, but a visual combined with their narrative about the experience, which helps to uncover more of the everyday world beyond

what is seen by an outsider when looking at a photo alone. It is a catalyst for conversation that helps the participant explain to the researcher what their everyday world is like and bring them in as a co-researcher in the process. Through this process, it can prevent the researcher and other viewers from imposing meanings to the photos that do not represent the voice of the community.

Photovoice can be used in IE to illuminate standpoint in a different way than traditional interview methods. Photovoice is a useful method to use with individuals that like to use artistic methods to express themselves such as youth (Kidd, 2009). Because participants are using their photographs to help describe their lived experiences, we are given a window into their embodied experience in the photographs. Photovoice and IE can work together to understand and map out the social organization of a community's experiences. Photovoice can be used to identify and understand the experience thus providing entry level data for IE. Photovoice also seeks to promote critical dialogue amongst participants about social issues within a community. IE can help move that dialogue beyond the experiences of the people and look at how their experiences are coordinated by factors outside of their daily life.

Through the Photovoice process, I was able to hear many stories about the lives of these specific street-involved youth in Edmonton. I gained valuable information about specific issues that were illuminated through their photographs. However, as part of the Institutional Ethnography, what I found most was that their photographs were a catalyst to discuss other experiences that may not have even been illustrated in the photograph. Similar to the ball of string analogy that is often used to explain IE (Devault & McCoy, 2002), the photograph is the thread that is pulled out from the ball that leads the researcher in many different directions. Often times the youth would start talking about what they saw in the photo and it would lead to a greater conversation about other experiences they had in their lives.

Photovoice and IE are also similar in their potential to assist and inform activists and activist researchers (Smith, 2006; Smith, 1990; Sutton-Brown, 2014; Wang & Burris, 1997). Photovoice is an activist research approach in that it engages individuals and creates collective consciousness amongst participants by having them uncover issues in their daily lives while being part of the Photovoice process. However, engagement without action does

not lead to the social change that is intended in a participatory method like Photovoice (Liebenberg, 2018). Action and change in communities take time. We can therefore create a sense of false hope with community members we are working with if we promote a method such as Photovoice as a means to create change when that change may not be seen immediately. For change to occur, we need a deeper understanding of the organizational structures and complexities that shape the lives of people. Through IE, we dig deeper into these structures and start to make connections to policies and decisions that are made away from the community and often many years before the community is affected (Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Smith, 2005). IE empirically connects these policies to the lived experience of the community members. IE helps researchers become allies with community and work with them to understand how organizational complexities are affecting their lives. IE can also help researchers connect with agencies to see how the institutional complexities affect the lives of those they serve.

For this project, the action needed for social change did not come out of the Photovoice process that was used to generate an understanding of youth's experiences from their standpoint. Rather, I used the activist nature of IE to move towards that action. Employing Institutional Ethnography is activist in that it explicates the ruling relations that are causes of issues the people in the Photovoice process have uncovered. IE can empirically connect and map out how everything is related and affecting them, thus assisting activists in understanding how the participants' lives are socially organized. By uncovering how banning worked and mapping the ruling relations to banning process it assisted in uncovering where changes needed to occur to improve the lives of youth. For example, I was able to use the IE analytic map that I created in presentations with BSCS to illustrate the experiences of youth and their connections to socio-political ideologies. Staff at BSCS then used the map to identify where they could intervene to help reduce experiences of homelessness in the youth they serve.

Conclusion

This chapter explained Institutional Ethnography, gave a brief description of how it evolved as an alternate sociology and defined key analytic terms that are unique to IE. Throughout this chapter I attempted to illustrate how I used IE to understand how the lives of youth are socially organized. I also discussed the use of CBPR within the context of IE and

how a participatory method like Photovoice can be used in IE as a method of data generation. In the next chapter, I will outline the specific methods I used to recruit participants, my data generation and analysis and the ethics process as part of this IE. The results from the Photovoice project will be illustrated in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter will outline the methods used in this dissertation. I begin with a discussion of my positionality as a researcher and then outline how I recruited participants, the data generation methods I used, data analysis, and the ethics process.

Positionality

As stated in Chapter 1, I became familiar with the work of BSCS after meeting a staff member and was able to have some of my students involved with the organization. Because I wanted to ensure a community engaged approach to this project, I spent a great deal of time making connections with other staff and managers at BSCS. I did this because it was important to myself as a community-based researcher, but also because there was some trepidation about my research intentions from the manager that oversaw the Youth Unit. This manager was not comfortable with researchers coming to the organization to do research without consulting with staff and management (field note, 2015). I spent a great deal of time, before and throughout the research project, volunteering and engaging with the staff and youth that accessed services through the Youth Unit at BSCS. In the process of this engagement, I was involved in several activities with the youth. I had been participating in recreation activities with the youth and I spent time in the Youth Unit just getting to know the youth and youth workers. In the fall of 2015, I was invited to participate in a project where the youth created a short film that depicted the experiences of street-involved youth in Edmonton. This participation allowed me to observe how the youth interacted with staff at the agency and with other community members. I had many informal conversations with both youth and agency staff that informed my positionality as a researcher.

Throughout this process, I kept reflective journals and took field notes of my experiences. The reflective journals and field notes were used in two ways throughout the study. The reflective journals helped me to keep the power relationship between myself and all participants in check. After I would leave the BSCS Youth Unit, I would record my thoughts and impressions about the day and note any issues that may have arisen during my visit. The main issue that I would regularly write about was how I felt I was exploiting the youth's stories and/or using their time for my benefit. This feeling often arose as I struggled to comprehend the systemic issues youth encountered daily and felt that my presence and my work was not helping anyone. To address this issue, I would meet with staff and managers to

ensure they were still comfortable with my work and did not feel the youth were being exploited. I also made sure to spend as much time as possible at the Youth Unit doing work that was not related to my data collection in order to give back to the staff and youth. I would regularly consult with my journals as the project progressed to remind myself of the various interactions I had with youth and staff at BSCS and ensure I always acted in a way that was not exploitive of the youth and staff.

The field notes helped inform my analysis in the later stages of the study. In my field notes, I recorded observations and conversations I had with youth and youth workers in the early stages of the study. As I progressed in the IE, I was able to go back to the field notes to find notes about youth banning practices and what happened when staff had to ban youth from the BSCS Youth Unit. These notes were helpful in understanding how the youth's lives were organized and also helped to fill in gaps regarding the organization of their lives that were not evident in the interview transcripts.

Recruitment

Standpoint youth informants

Standpoint informants are the person or persons who give details about their lived experience (Bisaillon, 2012). Research is coming from the standpoint of these informants. Often, data for the first phase of IE research (entry-level data) is from the standpoint informant. For this study, standpoint informants were youth aged 18 - 26 that accessed services from BSCS.

Recruited youth were individuals who regularly frequented the BSCS Youth Unit. Many of the youth who accessed those services struggled with severe drug addiction, mental health issues and chronic homelessness for years. Because I had spent several months at the shelter before recruiting, I knew most of the youth that accessed the shelter. I would talk to them about the project and ask if they would be interested in talking about what their lives were like and how the EID redevelopment was affecting them. The youth workers were also very helpful in explaining the project to the youth and identifying possible participants.

Youth workers helped to tell youth about the study and invite them to participate. The nature of the youth worker involvement was to help me identify possible youth participants and introduce them to me and my research assistants. Although I had met many youth through my regular engagement at BSCS, there were many other youth that I had not met

who would possibly be interested in participating in the study. The youth workers helped me meet them. Once introduced to the youth, my research assistant and I discussed participation in the study. In order to ensure youth did not feel coerced, youth workers were not involved in the informed consent process. When recruiting youth that I knew well, my research assistant would conduct the consent process with them.

Once youth agreed to participate, myself or my research assistant would read through a detailed information letter (Appendix B) and the participant consent form (Appendix C), explain the study and consent form to them in detail, clarify any questions, and then have them sign the consent form if they were still interested in participating in the study. All youth who were recruited were given a camera to keep after their participation in the study. Youth were also given a $25 gift certificate to Subway for participation and food was provided at every interview and group meeting. In total, nine youth were recruited. More detailed information on the youth participants will be included in Chapter 5.

Extra-local informants

As stated earlier, the conversations I had with youth led me to other extra-local informants who helped me understand the connections between the youth's experiences and the institutional processes that shaped those experiences. Extra-local informants came from places away from the standpoint informants' location (administrators, policy makers, etc.) (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013). These informants included youth workers, managers at BSCS, workers from other agencies and staff at funding agencies. To recruit these informants, I either approached them personally or I sent an email informing them about the study and asked if they were interested in participating in the project. Once individuals agreed to participate, I would send them an information letter (see Appendix D) that outlined the details of the research project and then I would have them read and sign an informed consent form (see Appendix E) before the interviews began. In total, I recruited 13 extra-local informants.

Data generation

At the start of the project, the main goal of data generation was to gather entry-level data for the Institutional Ethnography. The purpose of the entry level data in this project was to get a better understanding of "how things happen" in the lives of the youth from their standpoint. While I spent most of my time at the start of this project talking to youth about

their experiences, the discussions I had with the youth and the observations I made often led me to speak to other extra-local informants to further explore a line of inquiry. Bisaillon and Rankin (2013) state that analysis in IE is "an iterative and inductive process that begins in the first interview and continues through write-up of results" (para 11). Therefore, during this process, I would have an interview or discussion or observation that would cause me to seek further clarification or information from other informants who might be other youth, youth workers, managers or other individuals. This iterative process helped me to identify a specific problematic to focus on and it was useful in connecting how institutional policies and procedures organized the lives of youth.

The initial stages of the project led to many different paths to follow as I learned about the *work* that youth engaged in and how that *work* was organized. For example, youth talked about issues with housing, substance abuse and policing. I would then seek out information from various other extra-local informants such as staff in the housing department at BSCS to try to understand those issues and how they are institutionally organized. I would then have other conversations that identified other issues such as banning. As I focused on the youth banning problematic and gained an understanding of this practice from the youth's standpoint, I spent more time gathering data from youth workers, managers and policy makers. Speaking with these informants helped me to understand the connections between banning practices and policies and youth's lives.

Data generation for this project included a Photovoice project, one on one interviews, observational data and field notes of my time spent at the BSCS Youth Unit, and the reflective journal entries I wrote after each of my interviews. I also included texts in the form of policies and documents on youth banning, newspaper articles, television and radio reports. For a timeline of the total project, please see Appendix F.

Interviews

In total, 10 unstructured interviews (one participant was interviewed twice) were conducted with 9 youth informants (see Appendix G for examples of interview questions). Most interviews with youth were held in the board room or a private office in Boyle Street Community Services and two interviews were conducted in a classroom at Grant MacEwan University. Initial interviews with youth were geared at gaining the entry-level data that, along with other data generation methods such as the Photovoice project and observational

data, would lead to an understanding of a problematic from the youth's perspectives. As the initial focus of the project was on understanding how youth's lives were organized during the Edmonton downtown redevelopment, I also included questions about the redevelopment. A sample of questions used early in the project can be found in Appendix G1. Once the problematic of youth banning was identified, I held interviews with two of the youth which focused more on how banning happens. Sample questions from these interviews can be found in Appendix G2.

I conducted 13 unstructured interviews with extra-local informants. Interviews with extra-local informants were held at each person's place of work either in their offices or a quiet room. As mentioned earlier, these interviews often happened in the same time period as the youth interviews as various issues unfolded while talking to youth. Early interviews related to many different issues such as access to housing, how youth housing and programs are funded, and policing of youth. As the project unfolded and youth banning became the focus, the interviews were directed at understanding how banning happens, what youth workers and staff do when they ban individuals and the policies around banning. Sample interview questions for extra-local informants can be found in Appendix H.

Observational data, field notes and journals

Observational data collection started from the first meeting I had with BSCS staff and youth workers in May 2015. Initial observations and field notes focused on initial meetings I had with youth workers and managers. I documented how our meetings went and my initial impressions of the Youth Unit and BSCS. As the project progressed, I spent more time in the Youth Unit getting to know youth and talking to staff. Each time I went to the Youth Unit, I would take notes on what I saw, who I met, what happened in the Youth Unit that day and document conversations I had with people I met. After I would leave the Youth Unit, I would write a summary of my observations and reflect on what I saw and felt during those visits. I also wrote reflective journals about my interactions with youth and other participants and about my thoughts on the research process throughout the project. These were generally written after I would spend time at the Youth Unit. I would also write a reflection after each interview. The field notes and reflections were helpful while analyzing the data as they reminded me of things that occurred at the Youth Unit. The reflection process was important in trying to keep the power imbalances in check, and they also helped me to reflect on how

my personal feelings and experiences were coming in to play when analyzing the data and ensure that I was coming back to the youth's standpoint when doing my analysis.

The reflective journals and field notes also helped me to reflect on any "institutional capture" that may have occurred during the project. Institutional capture is when a researcher becomes familiar with institutional discourse of an organization and therefore, may not seek further clarification when interviewing informants. This capture can lead to accounts that are "descriptively empty" (Smith, 2005, p. 156). While the close engagement with staff and youth was important from a community-based research perspective, it helped me to understand how the organization worked and the institutional language of the organization contributed to institutional capture. In fact, while conducting interviews and during my observations I heard about and witnessed banning happen. Because I had spent so much time at the Youth Unit, banning seemed to be a normal phenomenon. After I began to read transcripts and my journals, I realized it was in fact not normal and emblematic of larger issues. This realization of my institutional capture allowed me to return to staff and youth to get more detailed descriptions of banning, how it happens and how it is textually mediated.

Photovoice process

Once youth were recruited and several interviews were conducted, I gave them cameras and asked them to take photographs that represented their day to day lives in downtown Edmonton. The discussion of Photovoice methodology, camera use, power and ethics was conducted by myself along with a research assistant. We showed participants how to use the cameras and informed them on acceptable ways to approach people when taking photos. We discussed how to take pictures responsibly and safely, including how to ask people's permission before photographing and strategies to avoid possible unsafe situations. At the end of the project, the youth were given the cameras in appreciation for their involvement in the project.

After the youth were in possession of the cameras, I would meet with them individually, when possible, to download photographs onto my computer. Given the unpredictable nature of the youth's lives, it was often difficult to meet with them to get their photos. I would make plans to see them and then they would not come on the planned date. Often, the youth workers would tell me they had not seen the youth for several days and sometimes weeks. To increase my chances of getting their photographs and talk about them, I

tried to go to the Youth Unit every day and brought my computer with me each time. The youth workers were also very helpful in this process. If I was not at the Youth Unit and one of the youth showed up, they would call me to let me know they were there, and I would try to get to the centre as soon as possible. On a few occasions, I was able to download the photos and interview the youth about their photos on the same day. At other times, I would download the photos and then made arrangements to meet with them at a different time to interview them about the photos. After the individual interviews were conducted, I was also able to arrange a group interview where each youth shared three or four photos that were important to them with the group and then there was a group discussion about each photo. As a result, I was able to interview six youth individually about their photos and was also able to have one group interview with four of the youth.

When meeting with the youth, I would ask them to discuss what was going on in the photographs and what the photos meant to them to gain an understanding of "how things happen" in their lives. If the discussion began organically when photos were presented, I would let the conversation evolve. However, if the youth did not say anything when they saw the photos, I would use some of the questions traditionally used in Photovoice to initiate the conversations and help facilitate discussion. These are a series questions from the SHOWeD technique developed by (Wang, 1999). The questions from this technique are: What do you *S*ee here? What's really *H*appening here? How does this relate to *O*ur lives? *W*hy does this situation, concern, or strength exist? What can we *D*o about it?.

Organizing and reviewing photographs

All interviews and group sessions during the Photovoice process were digitally recorded and transcribed by a transcriptionist. Once interviews were completed, I grouped all transcripts that related to each individual photo together. From there, I arranged the transcripts to create a narrative account of the photographs. Only the direct quotes from the transcripts were used to create the narratives. No wording was changed. I then met with the participants again to review the photos and the related transcripts to ensure excerpts from the transcripts reflected their experiences and to ensure they were still comfortable sharing their photos and narratives. I was able to review the photos and narratives with five of the participants. They were also given the option of having their names used with the photos or to remain confidential by using a pseudonym. Some chose to use their full names and others

chose to use their initials. I also reviewed the photos and narratives with the manager of the Youth Unit. Because of the vulnerable nature of the youth, the manager wanted to ensure that displaying photographs and narratives would not put the youth in further harm.

Presentation of photographs and narratives

A compilation of photos and narratives from the youth were presented in three photo exhibits at the Youth Unit on November 14, 2017, at MacEwan University from November 17-24, 2017 and in Edmonton City Hall from February 26 – March 9, 2018. The exhibits were open to the general public, municipal policymakers, and key stakeholders in the downtown community to build awareness of issues that these youth deal with on a daily basis. I invited all six youth that were part of the Photovoice project to participate in the exhibits so they could share their work and share their stories with the patrons of the exhibits. Two of the youth were able to attend the exhibits. The other participants were either not well enough to attend on the exhibit days, were not interested in attending, or some of them forgot about the exhibit after they were invited. For the youth that attended, the exhibits gave them an opportunity to meet policy makers and community members. We also developed a booklet that contained all the photos and narratives from the exhibit that we could distribute at the exhibit and to the community. The photos that were used in the booklets were the ones chosen by youth during the Photovoice interviews. I then combined the photos with the transcripts that were associated with the photos and reviewed both the transcripts and the photos with the participants before publishing the booklets. I also asked the youth if they wanted their names associated with the photos. One of the participants included her full name while the others chose to have either their initials or just their first name included.

These booklets proved to be very successful at sharing the experiences of the youth with the community and garnering interest in their needs. A digital copy of the booklets can be seen in Chapter 4 and can be found at https://www.scribd.com/document/373134147/Voices-From-The-Street. Subsequent to the launch of the exhibits and booklets, I was invited to present the work with several community and municipal organizations in the spring and summer of 2018. The exhibits also garnered media attention and I was invited by CBC Radio Edmonton, CTV News Edmonton and Global Edmonton New to speak about the project between March 1 – 9, 2018. For all the presentations and media interviews, I invited the youth that participated in the Photovoice

project to participate. Two youth participants that were available helped to present the findings and share their stories.

These exhibits and photo booklets that were created were an essential component of community engagement and knowledge sharing for this study. While this was not a Photovoice project in and of itself, involving the participants in knowledge sharing is an essential part of Photovoice (Liebenberg, 2018). Therefore, to use Photovoice as a data generation tool within IE, participatory knowledge sharing is imperative. I also found that the exhibits were an important part of informing the IE. The interactions youth had with people who encountered the exhibits or heard the media stories revealed issues and problematic power dynamics. For example, one of the youth who helped present at the exhibit and was featured in a media story often spoke about white privilege she encounters as an Indigenous woman. Her comments led to people leaving negative comments on her social media accounts that could increase the marginalization she felt being a street-involved Indigenous youth. The staff at the Youth Unit and I helped her deal with the backlash, and she continues to be a strong spokeswoman and advocate for street involved youth in Edmonton. While it is important for community engagement to occur as part of Photovoice, this encounter highlights the importance of protecting participants during the research process. Ethical issues of working with people experiencing homelessness will be explored later in this chapter in the section on ethical considerations.

Data analysis

As stated earlier, analysis in IE is "an iterative and inductive process that begins in the first interview and continues through write-up of result" (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013, para 11). The goal of IE is not to describe or come up with common, generalizable themes or theories. Rather, it is an analytic, empirical account of "how things actually work" (Rankin & Campbell, 2009, para 6). At the start of the project, my first few interviews were with some of the youth that I met at the Youth Unit. After those interviews, I would also read the transcripts and my field notes to understand the connections between the youth's experiences and institutional practices. I would jot down those connections in my journals to help remind me of these connections later on in my analysis. I would use the data from the first few interviews to point me in the direction of further inquiry. For example, if youth talked about their experiences with certain departments at BSCS such as housing, I would reach out to key

individuals from those departments such as a staff member in housing to understand their work and how it related to the social organization of youth's experiences.

During the Photovoice project, conversations with youth and other staff helped to identify a specific line of inquiry to follow. Several issues that youth encounter every day such as barriers to housing, mental health and addictions supports were identified. Many of the important problematics that emerged will be briefly explored in Chapter 5 and 6. It was quite possible for me to follow and explore many different problematics; however, it was unrealistic to follow and properly examine all of them in the time frame of a PhD project. Therefore, I needed to focus on one specific issue. I decided to focus on youth banning as it was something that youth and youth workers talked about often and I felt I could examine this problematic within the time constraints of a PhD project.

Once I identified youth banning practices as the specific line of inquiry, my analysis became focused on that issue. I returned to my original field notes, reflective journals and interview transcripts with the focus of youth banning. I re-read all the previous data and would focus on all the sections that related to youth banning to see if I could get new insights into the process. Because the initial interviews did not specifically focus on banning, I did not have detailed accounts of how banning specifically happens from the standpoint of youth. It was a phenomenon that they mentioned but did not describe in detail. Therefore, my transcripts did not have enough detailed information on how youth experienced banning. I then went back to two of the youth participants who were available to get a more detailed account of their experiences with banning in order to get a better understanding of how banning happened: what they did before they were banned; how they learned about their ban; what happened when they were told they were banned; and, how long they were banned. Unfortunately, I was not able to talk to the other seven participants as they were not available in the period of time that I was seeking out more information. However, as IE is interested understanding typical accounts of a phenomenon, it is not necessary to obtain accounts from a wide variety of participants (Waters, 2019). I also obtained detailed explanations from youth workers and managers about banning and how this practice fits into their work.

Once I collected more detailed accounts and re-read my field notes and transcripts, I began writing detailed accounts of what I had seen and learned. It is through the process of writing about what happens when "actual connections" are discovered (Campbell & Gregor,

2008, p. 89). By writing the detailed accounts, I started to connect the youth experiences of banning with youth worker experiences and the policies that govern these experiences. Through the conversations I had with informants and writing about their experiences, I was also able to explore how the practices of extra local ruling relations such as funding policies and procedures affect the work and lives of both the staff at BSCS and the youth. When looking at these transcripts, my field notes and various texts, I started to make connections between how youth's lives interact with those of youth workers and managers. I also began connecting the youth's and staff's work processes with the banning policy and other texts that coordinated their work.

Through this process, an analytic story began to emerge where I was able provide an account of how the work processes of staff at BSCS are connected to and shaped the experiences of youth who access services at BSCS. Generally, in IE an analytic map is created to visualize how the ruling relations shape experiences (Rankin and Campbell, 2009). Mapping is useful when trying to understand how sequences of events happen and how ruling relations interact with those events (Smith, personal communication, 2018). A sample of an initial analytic map can be seen in Appendix I.

Ethics process and ethical considerations

Before recruiting participants, a research ethics proposal was submitted and approved by the University of Alberta Health Research Ethics Board and the MacEwan University Research Ethics Board. The ethics proposal was also reviewed and approved by the Boyle Street Community Services Family and Youth Services Manager. Principles of informed consent and participant confidentiality were adhered to. Participants were made aware of the benefits and risks of participating and of their right to withdraw at any given time during the project. Full information letters and consent forms can be found in Appendices B, C, D, and E.

Special ethical considerations when working with individuals who are homeless

Power relationships

When engaging in research with marginalized communities such as homeless youth, it is important to acknowledge that varying power relationships exist between the researcher and the communities involved. Although one of the aims of activist research is to empower communities, when the partnership is initiated from an outsider to the community, there will

be power differences. This disparity in power is especially true when working with marginalized communities that have a history of colonization, trauma and internalized oppression (Chavez et al., 2008; Minkler et al., 2002). If these issues are not addressed, it can lead to community distrust in the outside researcher and the research process.

Regarding research with youth, power relationships can be difficult to mitigate. Ultimately, researchers are older than the participants and are outsiders to their community. Youth may have difficulties being honest with a researcher in order to try to please the researcher and give them the 'correct' response (Jardine & James, 2012). This power struggle is often seen when researchers are not able to spend time with the youth to create relationships and a sense of trust (Flicker, 2008).

The perception of power can also exist when an outside researcher comes from a place of privilege, especially white privilege. This is especially true in at risk youth communities of colour and Indigenous youth communities (Chavez et al., 2008; Fletcher, 2003). This privilege can cause researchers to ignore issues surrounding race, ethnicity and poverty. Researchers from a privileged white background who ignore these issues can actually create greater disparity for the community and do a disservice to those they are trying to help. It is important for researchers to practice "cultural humility" whereby a researcher commits to constant self-evaluation and self-critique to ensure that power differences are addressed and to develop a partnership that is based on mutual trust and respect (Chavez et al., 2008; Minkler et al., 2002; Minkler, 2004).

While acknowledging that there was a power difference with myself and the youth I worked with, I tried to mitigate this imbalance by spending over six months at the Youth Unit before recruiting any participants and also writing reflective journals about my experiences and any power issues I may have encountered. I met with the staff and managers of the unit regularly to ensure that they felt the youth were not being exploited or coerced into participating in my research. I also had a research assistant help with recruitment and go over the consent form with the youth, so they did not feel coerced in to participating.

Uniqueness of homeless participants

Persons who are homeless are often victims of daily discrimination and judgement. Therefore, as researchers we must ensure that our interactions with participants who are homeless are done without judgement, so we do not add to the marginalization of those

individuals (York University Office of Research Ethics, 2010). It is also important that the research we are doing, especially research that includes photos and narratives, does not become voyeuristic or sensationalized (Ensign, 2003). The stories of homeless youth can be very compelling, and it can be tempting for a researcher to take advantage of those compelling stories to promote their research. This can perpetuate marginalization and judgment placed on homeless youth thus creating further harm. To ensure this was not happening, throughout the project, I would regularly consult with the youth workers and managers to ensure that the work I was doing was not exploiting the youth's stories. Before presenting the Photovoice presentations, I went back to the youth and ensured they were comfortable with the stories and images that were being used. I also consulted with BSCS staff to make sure that the stories and images being shared would not result in further harm to the youth.

We also need to understand the complexity of the lives of individuals who are homeless. It is essential for a researcher to ensure they are minimizing distress with their participants (York University Office of Research Ethics, 2010). Along with ensuring that we are minimizing risk of emotional and physical distress, we must take into consideration the day to day stresses that individuals who are homeless encounter. Many individuals may not have slept, eaten or had a shower for several days and imposing our research agenda into their space and time is not respectful or ethical. This is especially true if trying to conduct research during the winter which is a very stressful time for individuals who are homeless.

In my project, in order to try and lessen risks to the youth participants, I held most interviews at Boyle Street Community Services in a private room next to the offices of the social workers and youth workers. I ensured that youth and social workers were always close by when conducting interviews in the event that participants became distressed and needed assistance. There were a few instances where the line of questioning caused some youth to be distressed and I ended the interviews and then suggested to the youth that they speak with one of the workers. I was also very cognizant of the state of the youth before I would conduct interviews. There were times when I had a scheduled interview with a youth participant, but when I met with them, I could see that they were not doing well either because they were having a bad day or had not slept. In these situations, I would not interview the youth and would ensure they spoke with one of the staff to get help regarding their situation. I also

made sure that the youth had had their necessities dealt with before I interviewed them. I inquired on whether they had spoken to the youth workers to deal with any important issues, asked if they needed to do laundry or shower before I would interview them, and I always made sure they had eaten before I would interview them. In fact, it became common practice that I would have sandwiches with me every time I went to BSCS and I would give out sandwiches not only to the youth participants but would share the food with other youth that were at the Youth Unit at the time.

Privacy and confidentiality

One final ethical consideration that needs to be made when working with homeless youth is the issue of privacy and confidentiality. While privacy and confidentiality must be adhered to as part of the research process, it is often difficult to ensure when working with this community. Because the youth homeless community in Edmonton is small, as is the community of homeless serving agencies, it may be possible for others to know who was participating in the project. It was clearly stated in the informed consent form that I would do my best keep all information confidential, but that it was not guaranteed.

With regards to confidentiality, the other issue that needs to be considered is the possibility of participants disclosing potential criminal acts or behaviours (Ensign, 2003; York University Office of Research Ethics, 2010). If this is the case, confidentiality may not be assured and there may be an obligation to report the activity. To mitigate this in my project, I informed the youth that if I witnessed or that if they made any self-incriminating statements about illegal activity (activities falling under the Criminal Code of Canada) during the research, I had an obligation to report it. In order for them to understand exactly what activities would be reported, they were given explicit limits of what would or would not be confidential. They were given specific examples of activities where reporting was required (i.e., drug trafficking, prostitution, trespassing, vandalism, assault). They were told that I would inform the manager of BSCS family and youth services if any transgressions occurred. When any transgressions were identified, I then met the manager of family and youth services to discuss whether other authorities needed to be contacted. This information was given to youth when gaining consent.

In this chapter, I outlined the methods used in this Institutional Ethnography with a focus on the Photovoice process that was instrumental in identifying the problematic of youth

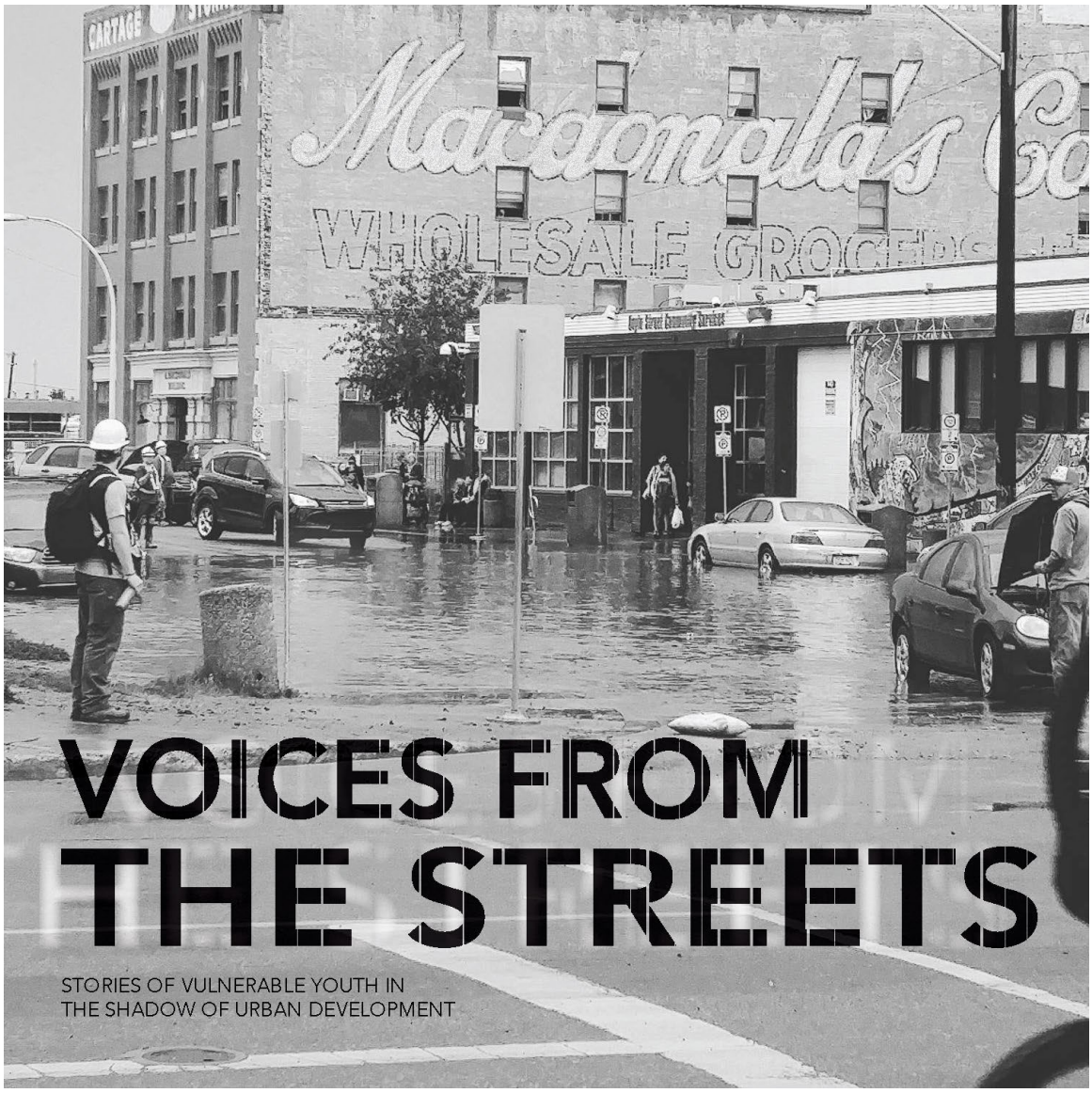
banning. The next chapter will highlight key photos and narratives from the Photovoice project that were used in the photo booklet.

Chapter 4: Photovoice Results

This chapter showcases the photo booklet that was created at the end of the Photovoice project. While in this Institutional Ethnography I used several methods to generate data, I felt that Photovoice was an important part of the process. It allowed me to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of youth's lives from their eyes which was important in gaining the standpoint of the youth. The final photo in the booklet led to the conversation on banning and how youth get into unsafe situations because of being banned. The phenomenon of banning became the problematic and entry point of inquiry for this dissertation.

Digital copy of photo booklet

https://www.scribd.com/document/373134147/Voices-From-The-Street



We acknowledge that the land on which we gather in Treaty Six Territory is the traditional gathering place for many Indigenous people. We honour and respect the history, languages, ceremonies and culture of the First Nations, Métis and Inuit who call this territory home.

COVER PHOTO BY: VICKI-LYNN MOSES

The Voices from the Street project is a partnership between Cynthia Puddu, assistant professor at MacEwan University, Boyle Street Community Services and the PLACE Research Lab. This project came about after youth and youth workers at Boyle Street Community Services expressed concerns about the possible impacts of the downtown redevelopment on their lives. The youth wanted to tell their stories because they stated that people who have not lived on the streets cannot know what life on the streets is like. They felt that no story is too small. In the summer of 2016, several youth from Boyle Street Community Services Youth Unit were asked to take photos that represented their experiences living in downtown Edmonton. What came about were stories of how the changes in downtown Edmonton have shaped their lives, stories of their day to day struggles and challenges and stories of joy, resilience and hope. All the stories presented are direct quotes from the participants.

Special thanks to all the youth who took the time to graciously share their photos and stories.

PHOTO BY: H.M.

Interviewer: How much do you walk in a day?

Not as much as I used to. Back when I was doing drugs... well they nicknamed [meth] 'Go Fast'...gives you energy, you know... one night I was on Whyte Ave, I walked to the west side, back to Whyte Ave and then back to the west side all in one night. Just to deliver drugs.

They were shooting up. Down, morphine. … this is my life…This is what I do every day. You do need it, so you're not sick and dying, and in the hospital. And cause I want it, it's addiction.

PHOTOS BY: S.O.

PHOTO BY: VICKI-LYNN MOSES

…it totally represents the poverty and the injustice in Edmonton.

… the youth unit gets flooded and then we have to wait for them to sanitize it and stuff. And I think it's, its terrible…You know, but yet they're over there making that huge big new arena, and here we are suffering on their path.

They're taking over this block and they're going to fucking run us out of here, and they're going to be happy because they're going to be making lots of money.

PHOTOS BY: VICKI-LYNN MOSES

That one I kind of wanted to show because like downtown can sometimes be like really messy and you, and just some kind of like tough, and – and that I think is a good [representation] of things that are very beautiful, you just got to take the time to kind of look at it... So I thought well that's kind of a hidden beauty that should be shown to the world

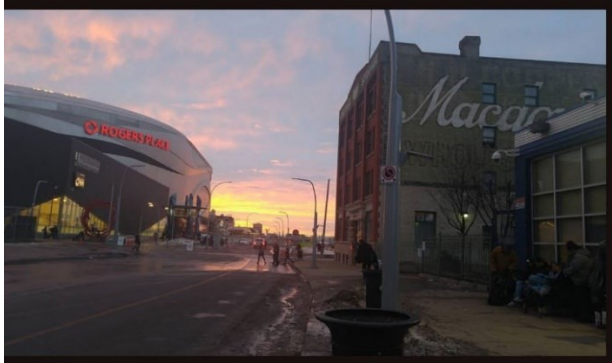


PHOTO BY: VICKI-LYNN MOSES

I can honestly say this picture speaks volumes... On one side of the picture you see Rogers place (white privilege) and on the other side you see Boyle street Community Services (Homelessness) (I don't mean to offend anyone) but we desperately need a change. People see what they want to see... What do you see?

#yeg #Rogersplace #edmonton #Boylestreet #homelessness #dontjustlookattheprettysky #helpus

I like seeing art like this on the walls of the city, you know…it gives people the chance to like express themselves in different ways.

PHOTOS BY: SAM

What me and my friends do when we're out flailing…It's when we … get high …And they'll jump on the, on top of the handle…And they'll be in this, inside the clothing bin looking for clothes.

Yeah and you know that, that, that's what a lot of people do out on the streets, you'll - they'll jump in clothing bins…See it's, it's very common out on the streets…And sometimes you find really good clothes in there.

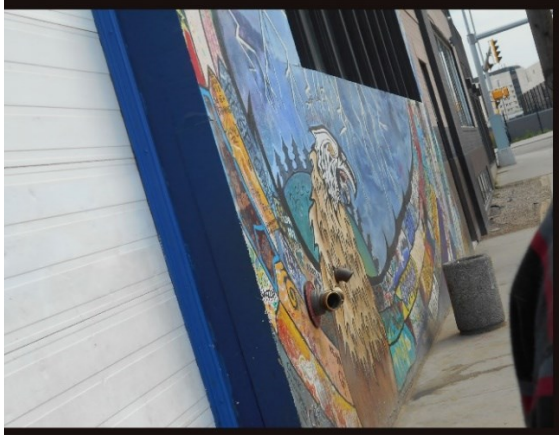
PHOTO BY: SAM

PHOTO BY: H.M.

Hope Mission 24/7 Rescue van.

The Hope van you know drives around and gives like socks, bottles of water, sometimes food. Give away supplies to people that use, you know, like clean needles and everything…Either that you know if they see someone drunk some where's and they're unable to walk or whatever, you know they'll drive them to the Hope, take them to intox.

The last time they helped me was, I was on Whyte Ave and the lights were on and I think it was the cops, because I snapped out of it, you know, I back to reality and I was just like I saw and so I put my hands like this and they're just like you know we're not cops, we're here to help you out. I'm just like well where are you taking me am I going to jail? And they're like no we're going to drive you down to the Hope, I was like oh okay. Yeah.



PHOTOS BY: H.M.

Boyle Street...It's like my guest house. It's a surprising zoo. Because you never know what's going to happen the next day, right… It helped me get a place, it helped with ID. They found me a job.

… the staff are like my family. And I became really close to all of them, and it's hard for me to do that. And I love this place so much.

PHOTO BY: H.M.

Interviewer: Tell me what it means to you guys – the youth unit?

It's like a home away from home They got laundry facilities. Good memories there.Youth unit's awesome, it rocks.

Interviewer: Why is it so important to sleep at youth unit, for you guys, or for the people that are there?

Because you're tired…Because if you have nowhere, nowhere else to go and you're tired. You can't even sleep, you can't even sleep in a park without cops waking you up and telling you to leave.

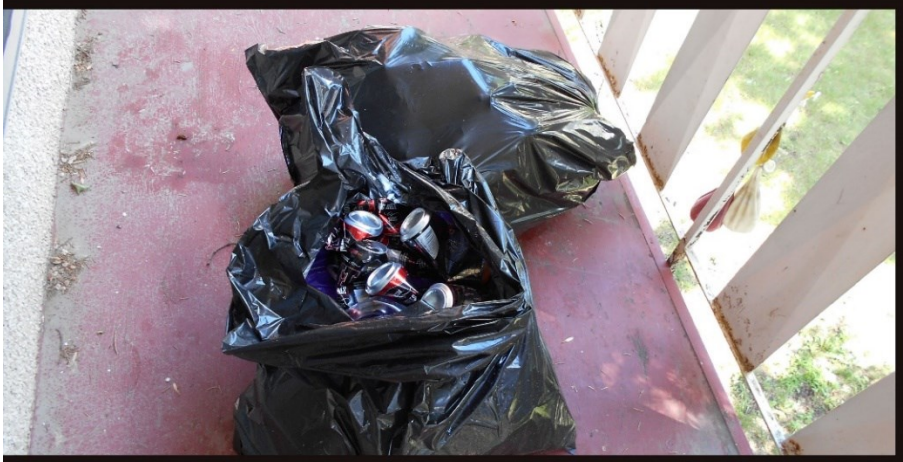


PHOTO BY: S.O.

Those are my empties on the balcony.

Interviewer: So why are those empties so important to you?

Cause I need money…To support my addiction.

Those are my valium's, I take those for my DTs cause I get delirium trems every morning…That's a bunch of needles and pill bottles, and rigs and all of that stuff…And that's for crack.

PHOTO BY: S.O.

They were crying cause their friend died.

Those are my dead friends that all died within the same week..

PHOTOS BY: S.O.

Someone sleeping.

PHOTOS BY: S.O.

That's my paramedic, she comes here and she checks on everybody. I love her, she's my favourite paramedic. Cause she loves me lots and she's really nice.

PHOTO BY: S.O.

PHOTO BY: VICKI-LYNN MOSES

It was a very beautiful day, I like the clouds behind it and they had just finally put up the Roger's Place sign there. I think it's – it's kind of somewhat hard to tell, but I think it's going to kind of bring a bit of trouble for the homeless community, so I can kind of, unfortunately really kind of see it now.

Apparently it's going to – crime rate's going – crime rate's going to skyrocket. And with more cops on the streets now and like, it's just – it's good but it's bad.

I'm actually kind of worried because of the lack of parking around the downtown area and how there's going to be lots of people using the LRT, and possibly taking that path from Boyle to wherever and I think it's kind of concerning, especially when most people don't know how to interact with homeless people…so I think we're really going to see what Edmonton and the police force, well what they do honestly and how they handle situations.

PHOTO BY: S.O.

I see a person trying to make a living and bottle picking, they're doing what they can to survive.

Interviewer: Why is bottle picking so important?

When I was near the end of the month or the middle of the month and I was really like, hurting and just you know I couldn't find or get money – that's what I'd do.

It's better than selling yourself… it's a way of making money you know. You're not robbing somebody, you're not stealing something to sell it. You know you're not trying to sell drugs or something to make money.

it's me contributing to keeping my city clean, you know and I'll go take em to a place that actually recycles them.

Interviewer: Anything else you guys want to say about this?

Try to avoid sleeping downstairs the recycle bins. I feel asleep in one recycle bin on Whyte Ave cause I was cold. It was like 2:30, it was like 2:30 in the morning you know, it was cold, I didn't want to go downtown so I hoped in that and fell asleep. I got woken up the next morning to the forks going right in the side and they fucking dumped me in …Dumped me in the back of the truck.

Yeah my friend in Winnipeg was died that way.

Because sometimes people don't like going to … homeless shelters because of like, they're either barred or like they have – people don't like going there, stuff
like that.

Interviewer: And so what, what happens to you when you're barred, like what, what do you end up doing?

Well like you said you might sleep in a bin

Walk, walking around to find a place to stay. If it's, if it's summer you go find somebody in a tent, somebody that you know or something, or you, you – what I did last summer when I first became homeless, I'd sleep in the stair – stairwells at city center. Go find a place of like a air vent or an air duct, you know, keep the cold off.

I've known people who they, they break into abandoned buildings cause they don't know what else to do, or they – they go, they put their selves in uncomfortable situations to – to keep warm.

Or I go with a man at a man's place and

Interviewer: Yeah. Do a lot of girls do that?

Yeah.

Lost In a Place Called Life

Dropped off at the hope with a bag and a purse. A smile on his face trying to hide the hurt, me holding back tears to hide the anger and slightly fighting the guilt that I felt. No one knows my pain (you may only know my name) Words cut like a knife your words stinging like a blade. No no no no I tried so hard, I can't seem to see. I fail yet again. No scars to show my pain just the ones hiding away. I long for a place where I can be safe.

Vicki-Lynn Moses

For more information about this project, please contact Cynthia Puddu at pudduc@macewan.ca.

VOICES FROM THE STREET PROJECT PARTNERS:

BOYLE street COMMUNITY SERVICES

PLACE RESEARCH LAB

FUNDING FOR THIS PROJECT WAS PROVIDED BY:

MacEwan UNIVERSITY RESEARCH SERVICES

homeward trust edmonton

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Chapter 5: Youth Work (on the streets)

In the previous chapter, I presented some of the photos and narratives that were obtained during the Photovoice project as it provided key entry level data of youth work from the standpoint of the youth participants. In the next three chapters, I will use the data obtained from the Photovoice project and the other data generation methods to ethnographically describe the work of youth. By starting from the standpoint of youth to understand how their lives are organized, I am echoing the work of Smith (2014) whose work sought to understanding social organization of gay men in Toronto. Smith stated that he began his research "with the realization that there is a real world out there, no matter how opaque it might be, that continually impinges on our lives, and over which we have very little control." (p. 23) Through these descriptions I will begin to make empirical connections between the youth's work, the work of staff and management within BSCS and the texts that coordinate their work. These empirical connections will illustrate how youth's experiences are socially organized by ruling regimes that are distant from the youth's lives.

The first of these chapters will describe how youth enter into homelessness and will then discuss the work they do on the street. The second will discuss the work that is done at BSCS by youth and how youth work is connected to the work of BSCS staff who help them. Through my conversations with youth, banning was a topic that was discussed often. I discovered that while staff and management at BSCS are committed to keeping youth safe, at times, they need to ban youth for various reasons. Being banned can then place youth in unsafe situations. This disjuncture between wanting to keep youth safe yet putting them in unsafe situations through banning arose as my problematic and emerged as my entry into further inquiry on the structural barriers youth face daily. The last of these chapters will focus on furthering our understanding of banning, how it occurs and is textually organized and the consequences of banning for youth.

I will write these next three chapters as a narrative to tell the story of what youth's lives are like and explain their work. I will use the stories of youth I met at BSCS as an analytic device to show how youth's work and the work of staff at BSCS is socially organized and leads to the conditions that cause banning. Although most of the ethnography will focus on youth's experiences with BSCS, other homeless serving organizations were

discussed by the youth participants. Where discussed, names for these shelters have been changed in order to protect the identity of the organization and of their staff.

In order to show how the experiences of youth are organized and connected to higher socio-political ideologies, I have also developed several analytic maps. These maps will act as a visual guide for the different narratives that are explored in Chapter 5 and 6.

The youth

The youth that access services from BSCS Youth Unit are not a homogeneous group. Some are housed in a somewhat stable environment that is paid through government income support such as Alberta Works or Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped (AISH). Others are precariously housed either because they have a hard time paying for housing or get evicted regularly due to chronic intoxication or drug use that leads them to destroy the property. At times they are precariously housed because of discriminatory practices towards youth living in poverty that make it difficult for them to find housing. For example, some youth were at risk of being evicted when they were one day late with rental payments (field note, 2018). Some of the female youth engage in survival sex in order to find shelter. Other youth couch surf or use the local overnight shelters and some sleep on the street, in tents, under bridges or anywhere else they can find shelter.

The narratives presented come from mainly five youth: Devin, Koda, Kaiah, Vicki-Lynn and Ben. The names of all the youth except Vicki-Lynn have been changed to protect their identity. Vicki-Lynn requested that I use her name. While most of the stories come from these five individuals, stories from some of the other youth participants are included at points in this chapter, where appropriate. The content for these narratives is drawn from the data I collected through observations, field notes, reflective journals, interviews and the photovoice project. Various staff accounts are included in this chapter. To protect their identities, the names of staff have been changed.

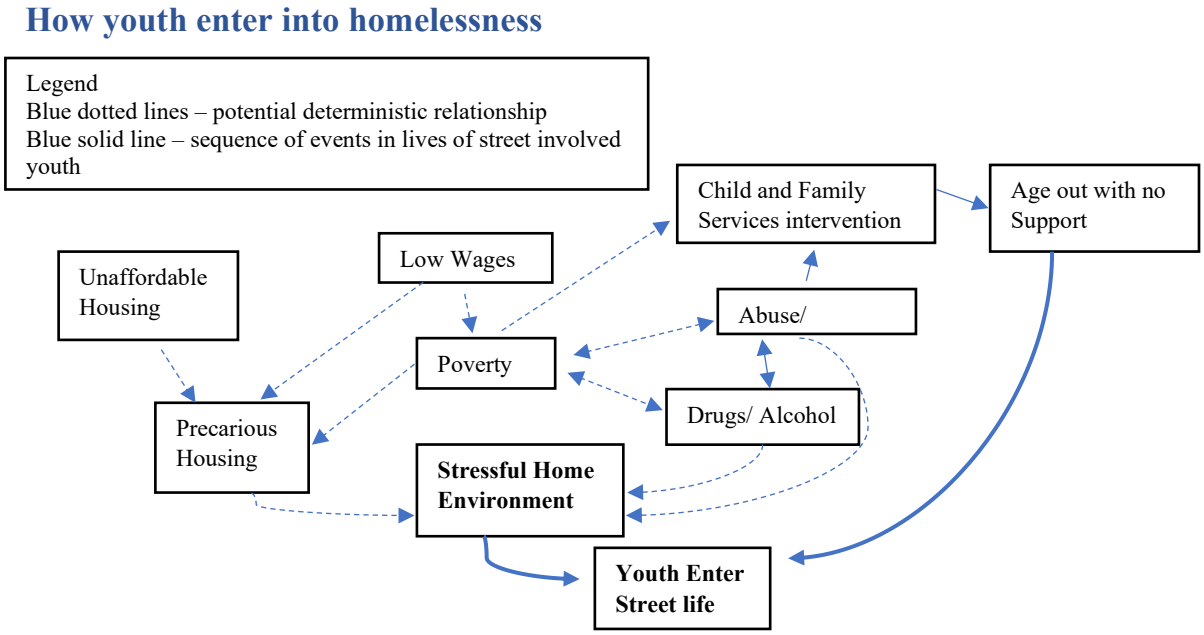

Figure 5.1: Factors that bring youth into homelessness.

While the reasons that youth find themselves on the streets and homeless are as diverse as the youth themselves, there are some commonalities in the stories of how youth ended up on the streets. What stood out to me in my first interactions with youth and staff in the early stages of this project were the stories of youth and how their experiences with homelessness began. When speaking with staff, they told me it was not uncommon for them to work with youth whose first experience of homelessness was with their parents (field note, 2015). Youth's parents may also have experienced homelessness at various points in their lives. It was also not uncommon to hear stories of growing up in a difficult environment where someone in the home excessively used drugs and/or alcohol. Almost every youth I met had either grown up in the foster care system or had a history of violence or abuse at home. While some of them had relatively good relationships with their foster families, there were still tensions and difficulties with their foster families that led them to leave the home (field note, 2015).

Ben, an Indigenous male, had cycled in and out of homelessness for many years and after many failed attempts, he was finally able to transition out of homelessness. He had been housed for over one year at the time I met him and was acting as a mentor to homeless youth at various agencies around Edmonton. When I asked Ben about the circumstances that led him to leaving home, he reflected on his own experiences:

> Ben: At 16 I started. It was my first time being homeless and I did that for like a month, and then when I was 19, I think just turned 19 I was on the streets for like a period of three years, just because of drug use in the home and instability with life in general. And it wasn't like a good place to be for me. (Ben, interview, 2016)

> Devin has cycled in and out of homeless since the age of 14. He would often spend his days at the BSCS Youth Unit or staying at friends' houses. He told me the story of when he began this journey into homelessness and how it was shaped by experiences within his home environment:

> Devin: I didn't get along at all with my stepdad, at all. We hate each other, literally. He, he thinks I'm stealing my mom from him cause we're best friends and ah he gets jealous. So, every time I'm around he just fucking starts being angry and fucking hating. So, I got kicked out. Because we got in a real big fight one night. And I then I came to Edmonton, they dropped me off right in front of the [Find Shelter Program].

> C: So, you were 14 when that happened? And ever since then what have you been doing?

> Devin: You're looking at it.
> (Devin, interview 2016)

Koda is an Indigenous young man who grew up in foster care outside of Alberta. His foster family was not Indigenous. In 2011, he moved to Edmonton shortly after he turned 18 to look for work. From the time he moved to Edmonton he often stayed at one of the overnight shelters and has struggled to maintain a job. He often spends his days at the BSCS Youth Unit or at friend's houses. When I ask him where he spends his nights, he explains, "Either outside or in tents with the tenting communities, or primarily in the Edmonton Overnight Shelter. If I had a friend that comes by and then [says] "hey come over to my house for the night", you know, I say okay." However, he mentioned that he was banned for life from one of the overnight shelters which limited his ability to find a place to stay if he did not have a friend to stay with or if the other shelters were full. He has also struggled with various forms of drug and alcohol addiction throughout the years. He tends to get into fights when he is either high or drunk which causes him a variety of problems. He has also struggled with various forms of drug and alcohol addiction throughout the years (field note, 2016).

Kaiah was a 21-year-old woman who spends most of her days at BSCS who grew up in a different province. She would often run away from home in a different city and eventually ended up on the streets in Edmonton (field note, 2016). At the time I met her she

was housed in Edmonton but regularly struggled to keep her housing. She suffers from alcohol addiction but has also struggled with addiction to other drugs such as valium and morphine. Her drug and alcohol struggles began from a very young age as did experiences with prostitution:

> Kaiah: I've been alcoholic since I was eight, I did crack since I was 11. I started selling myself when I was 11 too. And when I was 18, 19 I started doing morphine.
>
> C: Why did you start doing drugs when you were young, like what was going on?
>
> Kaiah: I just grew up like that.
>
> C: Yeah. And so, then you started prostituting is that what you?
>
> Kaiah: I didn't prostitute for drugs, I prostituted cause I wanted clothes and I wanted food, just stuff like that. I grew up like that, there's where I grew up, there was hookers everywhere.
> (Kaiah, interview 2016)

Vicki-Lynn was housed at the time that I met her. She was homeless for less than a year before she was able to find housing. Vicki-Lynn was placed in foster care at the age of three. She once talked about being in the system at age 10 and how she would cry after visits with her mom. She was then not able to see her mom anymore because she would "act out" after visits (field note, 2015). Her story of becoming homeless came from tensions she had with her foster parents. She lived with a foster family that she still refers to as mom and dad and had a fairly stable upbringing. After 18, she would get into more arguments with her foster parents and eventually was kicked out of her house (field note, 2016). Vicki-Lynn is an Indigenous woman who was raised by a white foster family. This upbringing has created tension in her life as she struggles with her identity as an Indigenous woman. When I first met her, she did not identify as Indigenous and did not want to connect with her culture, but a year into this project she was trying to connect more closely. I noticed her trying to reconcile these identities within her and often wondered if the tension she felt might be part of the difficulties she had in life (personal reflection, 2016).

While I heard many of the youth's stories about how they came into homelessness directly, I also was able to gain some insight from staff that work with youth. Staff told me that youth who experience homelessness often come from families living in poverty. Some families are leaving a reserve or other places outside Edmonton in order to find work. Others are fleeing violence or other negative experiences and then when they get to Edmonton, they

do not have any supports. This leads to a stressful home environment so youth in these families may leave home (field note, May 2016).

Another issue raised by staff was around the circumstances that cause children to become apprehended and enter the child welfare system. If a woman has children and finds herself without housing, it can be difficult to find shelter. Women are not able to bring their children to emergency shelters and if immediate housing cannot be found, they are often told the only way they can go to a shelter is if they surrender their children to Child and Family Services (field note, May 2016). Because these women could not find a home, their children enter the child welfare system which, as noted by the youth I spoke to, can lead to conditions that causes them to leave home, perpetuating the cycle of homelessness.

Ageing out of care can also lead to youth becoming homeless. When youth exit the child welfare system, they often do not have support to help the transition out care. A staff member told me of a youth who found himself at the Youth Unit after being released from Child and Family Services with no supports. For the past two years, he has been in and out of jail and in and out of a local psychiatric hospital. Staff knew that he required permanent supportive housing as soon as he was released, but because of a lack of permanent supportive housing he ended up cycling in and out of homelessness (field note, 2019). I recall seeing this young man several times at Youth Unit and witness him getting banned. Staff described that he has severe mental health issues that have not been treated properly along with not having proper support to deal with his mental health and to find housing. Because of this, he often would act aggressive towards staff or other youth and would get banned (field note, 2016). Staff also mentioned that many youth who are transitioning out of care lack the skills needed to be on their own when they are released. Staff describe youth as not motivated to keep a place clean and not knowing how to cook (field note, 2019). Youth also stated that friends will come over and party which can lead to getting evicted and bringing them back into homelessness (Ben, interview, 2016).

"Culture of homelessness"

Once youth find themselves on the streets, it can be hard for them to find a way off the street because, as Ben had stated, they leave behind a difficult situation and find community with other homeless youth. Ben often talked about the struggles to get off the

streets that he and many youth he's known have endured. He referred to a "culture of homelessness" that causes youth to get stuck on the streets and become chronically homeless.

> Ben: I went to the shelter with the idea that I would be getting out in like a month so to get my feet back on the ground and I found myself caught up, what really is like this community, if you want to call it, like a culture of homeless that really once you're in it, you get pretty stuck with the lifestyle. You get stuck with people that you associate with daily in the shelters and in the day programs, and your world becomes very small. And what I didn't realize is that once you're in that, you lose energy to get out very, very quick. And so, I had a period of three years of me trying to get out of the homeless – the homeless cycle, I guess, and it was until resources became available to me that actually helped me get housed first. I was able to like break myself out of the cycle, go to rehab and get back into a more stable living condition. But I feel like I lost three years.
> (Ben, interview 2016)

He went on to talk about the community that is formed once on the streets. The discussion below begins to show how youth become connected to other individuals experiencing homelessness and how youth's experiences are being socially organized through their interactions with others:

> Ben: I think most youth leave the home because of a disconnect from the family and a lack of community to support them, so the only place they can go is the streets. And what they find there is a community. And people there who can share the same failures that they have and can be your best friend if you do, you know, equally damaging things to your life and that's where you bond. And so, we may go into the shelters with the idea that we're going to get out, but there's – everything we kind of want to achieve already there, just not like really the best quality of it. And your world gets very small, I think, and in a lot of ways that becomes your world. All these people you know and because you're the new kid on the block, you quickly get pulled into the drama, because you're another character in this play of drama, and so you're almost welcomed and embraced to join it. And once you're in it, it's in a lot of ways it's kind of like a drug too. I don't have to deal with my problems that I have in life, if I have this drug problem, the same way – translate into the culture too, so you don't really have to aspire to achieve something unknown or get out from your situation, if you already have a situation in front of you. And that's when you need to get them out like the first two weeks just get out, get the kids out as quickly as you can. And I don't know how you'd destroy that culture, but I know it's always there and always willing to accept ya.
>
> C: What are, what are the good things about that culture?
>
> Ben: If you're in the state of being homeless, I guess a good aspect could be the community and the acceptance, and the idea that you're not alone and someone's got

> your back. And the idea that community, whether healthy or not. But it really seems like that's the only option in terms of the community.
> (Ben, interview 2016)

This discussion on how youth become "stuck" on the streets made me recall an observation I made during one of my visits at BSCS that again illustrated how getting "stuck" is linked to activities beyond their embodied experience, such as a lack of coordination between agencies. On that day, a new 16-year-old had arrived at the Youth Unit. Staff were trying to figure out what his needs were and if he had a worker assigned to him. Staff had mentioned that he was dropped off at the Youth Unit and they were having difficulty connecting with Child and Family Services (CFS) to get more information on who was working with him at CFS. He seemed to be newly homeless and staff were concerned that if he stayed at BSCS he would be on drugs within two weeks and be exploited and taken advantage of by gangs. They wanted to send him to a different drop-in centre that would be a safer environment for someone like him (field note, 2016).

I spoke to Stevie, a staff member at BSCS, about this incident a few days later and asked her why she was worried about this 16-year-old:

> Stevie: Just because out here there's such a, such a strong gang presence out front. Like with adults and they just exploit our youth so bad. So, I was just really worried about him…And there's not such a big drug presence [at different drop-ins], and in just two weeks here and anybody's going to get grabbed away and, in the world, that's going on.
>
> C: How does that work with the gang influence? What do you see happening, what do you do?
>
> Stevie: I've seen them make somebody their like go beat this guy up or we're going to beat you up. Or they're like give people drugs and say go sell this for 20 bucks, and then the guy goes and sells it for 20 bucks and they're like hey now you owe me 30.
> (Stevie, interview 2016)

Although BSCS is a place that is very helpful to youth experiencing homelessness and generally a safe space for them, outside, gang members know that they can meet vulnerable youth who may be easily recruited because they are seeking the sense of community that Ben had previously mentioned (field note, 2016). Rory, another youth participant who spent time at BSCS, also talked about how gang members try to take advantage of the individuals that go to BSCS to access services: "This place is good, but for

me and a lot of people, there's dope dealers out front that just prey on people like me, that prey on the vulnerable, the – you know."

Being labelled homeless

While other homeless youth and temptation from gangs socially organize youth to help create a culture of homelessness, Ben also stated that the way youth are labelled by staff and other individuals who work and volunteer in the homeless sector can add to the culture of homelessness.

> Ben: One thing that isn't noticed and as easily is this – it's the message you're put into, like a subconscious level I believe, because I didn't know I was a homeless youth until I was told I was a homeless youth. I just thought I was some guy who was going to get out after a month, but the idea that you would assume this role of a homeless youth and you're a homeless kid, I feel like there's a – a way people treat you and interact with you that kind of limits you over time, and kind of beats you down. It's the idea that – I feel like it's hard to change your character in life, if you're caught in a play that's already written for you and has a character of your homeless youth. And it changes your mindset after two years, you stop thinking of yourself before being homeless and you're kind of stuck in like I'm homeless I'll never get out.

When Ben states "I didn't know I was a homeless youth until I was told I was a homeless youth" and states that he feels like he had to assume the character of a 'homeless youth', he is illustrating a bifurcated consciousness between an identity that an institution has created for him and his actual embodied experience. When I asked him how the persona was created, he identified that it came from staff at homeless serving organizations who are embedded in an institutional mentality of labeling young people they serve in a specific way.

> C: Who creates that script, that – that persona that you said you got stuck in, like?
>
> Ben: Huh. I would say that the people – not to, to staff, but not all staff, and not all individuals who are trying to help, but I believe a lot of the groundwork staff which we're primarily in contact with kind of have that mentality, whether they know it or not, whether they mean it or not. I believe they don't mean to do it, but there is sort of a, a shift in communication that happens between – for individuals in these [areas] that help homeless youth. But there is that disconnect and it kind of puts you like a younger state of mind and so it's hard to excel and live on your own when you're constantly being treated like a child again.
> (Ben, interview 2016)

The work on the street

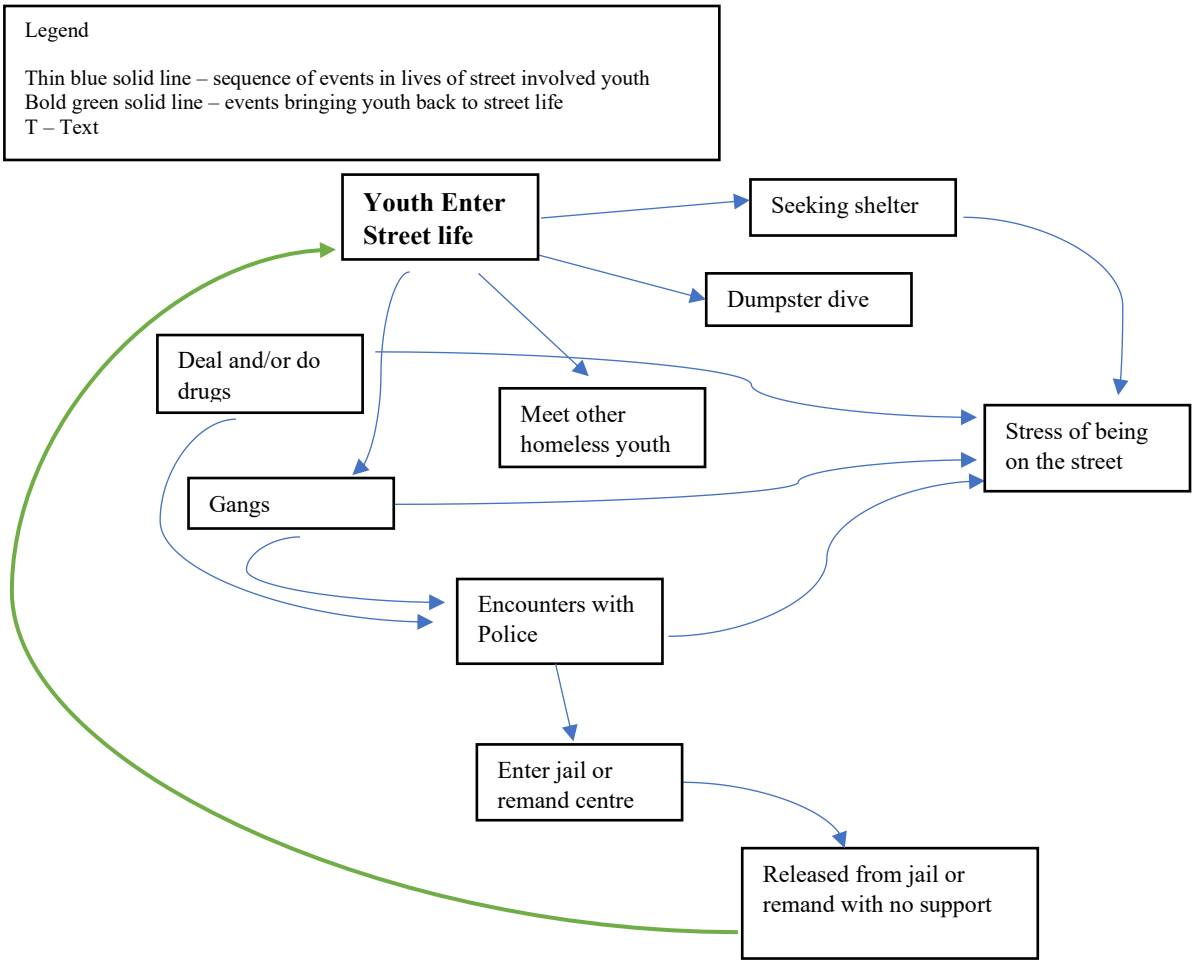

Figure 5.2: Youth Work on the street.

Work in the context of IE refers to anything a person does that takes time and energy in their lives or what Smith (2005) refers to as the *generous* conception of work. In this section, I will give an account of the work that youth participants described as part of their day and begin to show how this work is organized and connected to other people and organizations. This work involved walking around, seeking shelter, finding and using drugs and alcohol, encounters with the police and the justice system and bottle picking and dumpster diving.

Walking around

Throughout the day, youth's lives are organized differently depending on the needs of the day and what they need to do to survive. Walking is a large part of how youth spend their day. When speaking to Koda, he told me that he spent much of his time walking around

various parts of the city either on his own or with friends to get from one place to another. In Figure 5.3, Koda gave an example of how much time he would spend walking and how the purpose of walking was connected to other people who were buying drugs that he was selling:


Figure 5.3 Koda walking

> Koda: That's me and my buddy, just walking."
>
> C: How much do you walk in a day?
>
> Koda: …one night I was on Whyte Ave, I walked to the west side, back to Whyte Ave and then back to the west side all in one night. Just to deliver drugs. (Koda, interview 2016)

A staff member from BSCS also discussed how walking is often the only way to get around the city because they either do not have money for bus fare or have been banned from using the Edmonton Transit Service. She states: "…a lot of our youth are barred from transit even. From getting so many tickets, they literally ban them – don't ever come back on here again." (Peyton, interview, 2018). This illustrates how walking happens because interactions with transit officials leads them to get a ticket for not having enough transit fare, a textually mediated process, leading them to get to get banned from accessing bus services.

At night however, walking is seen as a means of survival. Youth describe taking drugs such as crystal meth and spending nights walking around the city as it is safer to stay awake and walk all night than to sleep on the street. A staff member describes why youth spend the nights walking in order to stay safe:

> They get their stuff stolen, so they walk all night from bus terminal to bus terminal, from construction site to construction site until Boyle Street opens and then can come sleep, where they know that they're safe. (Stevie, interview, 2016)

Seeking shelter

A large proportion of the work of street involved youth involves seeking shelter. While youth would like to find permanent housing, often they are forced to settle for a temporary place as shelter because the process of getting housing is complex and time consuming. As Koda stated earlier, he mainly stays at temporary emergency shelters or with friends as the last time he was housed, he was evicted because the landlord caught him and his friends doing drugs in the apartment (Koda, interview, 2016).

Vicki-Lynn also talked about issues she had with finding short term shelter when she first became homeless. She discussed the difficulty in finding a bed at emergency overnight shelters because of lack of space and age restrictions that are institutionally mandated by the different shelters:

> Vicki-Lynn: So, the [Find Shelter Program] – you can go there for like a bed for every night. But the thing about [this place] where you can go for the shelter is that, they say it's for up until 21, but it's very hard to get a bed, especially when you're 20. If I was 19, I probably would have had no problem. But like they let the younger ones go first, or people who have reserved beds. And I think at that point they were short on staff, so they were only allowing like 16 youth. So, you know obviously I had just kind of stopped going to that shelter because, you know, there's no point of waiting there for an hour just to find out that you're not going to get a bed that night. (Vicki-Lynn, interview 2016)

This is an example of how a youth's experience is coordinated by rules set out by an institution. Because of the restrictions set out by the Find Shelter Program, Vicki-Lynn stopped trying to access shelter at this specific organization. Vicki-Lynn also discussed the shock of what it was like to stay at some of the overnight shelters and how frightening and difficult it can be:

> Vicki-Lynn: I find living on the streets there's different rules than in real life, and people are very different, so that was very kind of shocking.
>
> C: What are those rules and what's it like?
>
> Vicki-Lynn: Well it's very scary especially not knowing anybody who is homeless. When I become homeless, I was like fresh and I had no idea what I was doing. And so I had a lot of stuff with me that I had from when I left with all the things that I could carry…I remember like putting things down and then stepping away for like a moment I turned my back and they'd be gone, or like putting things in lockers…And then not realizing that you can only put it in for the day or whatever. And then coming back the next day and the stuff being gone. I'm the kind of person who my things are like my everything, I'm you know so it's, it's very hard I have to come to grips with I'm not getting those things back. So maybe for a month I was sleeping at

> [the Edmonton Overnight Shelter] with just a pillow and a mat. That was very scary... I'd rather go sleep outside than go back.
> (Vicki-Lynn, interview 2016)

Rory also described what it is like to spend the night at an overnight shelter:

> C: Where do you stay at night?
>
> Rory: I stay at the [Men's Shelter] … You go there and you sleep one night, and you have to be out by 7:30 in the morning and you can only come back at 7 at night. So, you're only allowed there for 12 and a half hours. The place is disgusting, there's males there that don't shower for months. There's only three showers in the whole building. It's not a place I wish upon anyone would try, even sit, even have the smell of. Sometimes the smell in these bathrooms are bad, try the whole facility is that bad.
> (Rory, interview 2016)

Safety and sanitary issues related to overnight shelters in Edmonton have been noted recently in the media and in a City of Edmonton report (City of Edmonton, 2019). It has been noted that although at times it is difficult for individuals to find overnight shelter because of over capacity, there are also many times that shelters are not full because of the same issues discussed by Vicki-Lynn and Rory. This has led to an increased number of homeless encampments in the Edmonton's river valley during the last winter even though February 2019 was one of the coldest months in 40 years (City of Edmonton, 2019b; Pratap, 2019).

What happens when there is no shelter

Whether youth do not access overnight shelters because they are full, they have been banned or because they find the shelters unsafe, there are always times when youth find themselves on the streets at night. Vicki-Lynn discussed what her experiences were when she was not able to find shelter:

> C: Was there ever a time…when you didn't have a shelter, that you actually were on the street?
>
> Vicki-Lynn: There was one period of time, where I had met this guy…and he had been homeless for like a long time, and he was a rebel ruffian. And so, I remember, he was really wild. So, we had stayed in City Center Mall in one of the stairwells. You'd be surprised on how many doors say that they're alarmed and they're actually not. So, we stayed in there for about a week and then one time when we were sleeping, the security guards came in and woke us up and they find us.
> But this was like three in the morning so we couldn't get into the [Edmonton Overnight Shelter. So, we had all these blankets, all these bags, we were going to go to sleep in a stairwell of a building, but that was blocked off. So, we slept under this thing. It was like underneath the stairs outside and it was like four in the morning.

> And we were, it was like freezing, but like that was like the first time I've ever slept outside. And like it wasn't exactly summer.
>
> C: Is there anywhere else?
>
> R: Well and a lot of people just tent it right. They tent out in some of the public parks and stuff.
> (Vicki-Lynn, interview 2016)

She went on to describe a situation where a girl she had met on the streets used her body to find a place to stay:

> Vicki-Lynn: Some of the people on the streets the way they get stuff is, you know, they use their body. [Another girl] had an undershirt so she had taken off her shirt and she, you know her boobs are hanging out and so she managed to get us a place to stay which was good. But I don't know, and she didn't like how she got it, but it was something.
> Interviewer: Do you know other girls that that's how they get a place to stay?
>
> Vicki-Lynn: Yeah definitely I know a lot of women who do that. Which is quite sad but it's, it's something you know.
> (Vicki-Lynn, interview 2016)

Drugs and alcohol

Youth often spend their nights walking around the city in order to buy or sell drugs or because they are so high from the drugs, they are not able to stay still. As Koda once mentioned, "…well they nicknamed it [crystal methamphetamine] 'Go Fast' you know. So, it's like you know just makes you go. You know [it] gives you energy". However, one of the reasons youth are forced to spend the nights walking around is because of rules and regulations set out by different overnight shelters that do not allow youth to access various overnight shelters. A BSCS staff member noted that youth can get into an overnight shelter if they are not too drunk or high but if they are too drunk or high, as determined by overnight shelter staff, they end up in the river valley or on the street. Sometimes they are so high they just wander around on the streets (field note, 2015).

The fact that youth have difficulty getting into shelters if they are using drugs or alcohol can be an issue because the use of drugs and alcohol is a part of their lives. While some of them want to overcome their addictions, it is difficult, especially when homeless. For youth that take drugs, they are an important need and seen as a way to stay alive. When I met with Kaiah to discuss her photos in the Photovoice project, she had several photos

related to drug and alcohol use. She discussed that she was an addict and talked about her need to drink alcohol and take drugs:

> Kaiah: I always take valiums and morphine.
>
> C: So, do you consider yourself an addict to drugs?
>
> Kaiah: Yeah. But I'm mostly alcoholic.

Figure 5.4 Kaiah Drugs

> Kaiah: Those are my valiums; I take those for my DTs cause I get delirium trems every morning. That's a bunch of needles and pill bottles, and rigs and all of that stuff.
> (Kaiah, interview 2016)

She also talked about the difficulty of needing to cut down on both drugs and alcohol because she was having serious medical issues related to the chronic drug and alcohol use.

> Kaiah: But I don't drink anymore because tomorrow I have an ultrasound, cause I am very sick and I'm bleeding very badly in my stomach.
>
> C: What's it feel like when you're trying to cut down?
>
> Kaiah: Like I don't know what to do and I'm sick, and – and I'm in pain and it sucks.
> (Kaiah, interview, 2016)

She later shared photos of how drugs are used. She wanted people to understand what her life was like and why drugs and alcohol were important to their survival.

Figure 5.5 Preparing drugs

Figure 5.6 Injecting drugs

> Kaiah: They were shooting up. Down, morphine. … this is my life…This is what I do every day. You do need it, so you're not sick and dying, and in the hospital. And cause I want it, it's addiction. (Kaiah, interview 2016)

Police encounters and Criminal Justice System

A common part of youth work is socially organized by encounters with police officers and the criminal justice system. Many of the youth I met had experiences with the police and criminal justice system. Koda spent time in jail on many occasions. Some of the reasons for being incarcerated were because of theft and violence, offences that are coordinated by the Criminal Code, but there were times when he was also sent to the Edmonton Remand Centre for smaller bylaw offences such as public drunkenness or jaywalking:

> Koda: I've gone there [Edmonton Remand Centre] a couple times but it just you know, the one night in the holding cell, because you know it's for just a fine so.
>
> C: A fine for?
>
> Koda: Like say jaywalking, loitering. Drunk in public, you know like a $250.00 ticket. And it's like a day.
> C: So, is that if you can't pay the ticket, they pick you up?
>
> Koda: That's a, it's a pay or stay. If you can't, if you cannot pay the ticket when they ask you to do so, then you go, go do the time for it.
> (Koda, interview 2016)

The practice of incarcerating individuals because they could not pay for various fines was quite common and many youth entered the criminal justice system because they could not afford to pay fines. However, in May 2017, new legislation, *An Act to Modernize Enforcement of Provincial Offences* came into force. This bill was intended to change enforcement of certain fines if a justice feels that "imprisonment would not serve the public

interest" (Provincial Offences Procedure Act, 2017, p. 8). The Edmonton Police Service (EPS) 2018 Annual Policing Plan reported a 48.5% drop in non-criminal warrants issued since 2017 and attribute this drop to the act coming in to effect (Edmonton Police Service, 2018). However, anecdotally, the staff at BSCS has said they have not seen a reduction in warrants being served to community members (personal communication, BSCS staff, 2019). This may be because the bill was not retroactive for provincial warrants issued prior to May 2017 and therefore warrants were still being served in 2018 and early 2019. Because warrants expire after two years, the EPS expects to see further reduction in warrants by late 2019 (Edmonton Police Service, 2018).

Along with being served warrants for arrest due to not paying fines, several youth that I met had experiences with the criminal justice system often for other offences such as theft, drug possession and trafficking and various assault charges. It was not uncommon to meet youth that spoke about having warrants for other offences and walking the streets waiting for the police to arrest them. When discussing the effects of the Rogers Place opening on youth's experiences, I asked Koda about whether there was a higher police presence after the arena opened. He stated that there were more police officers. He also described getting stopped by police and getting his name run which is when the police check a person's name to see if they have outstanding warrants.

> Koda: There's a lot, there's a lot more cops. I got my name [run] a couple days ago just by random cops. They're just like okay you look like someone that we could bug, now what's your name? And the guy fucking pulled out his book and went on his walkie talkie. I was like 'Come on guys, I ain't even doing anything' you know. I was like, I was sober."
>
> C: Does that happen a lot just getting randomly stopped?
>
> Koda: Yeah.
> (Koda, interview 2016)

Vicki-Lynn also discussed her experiences getting her name run and how the increased presence of police officers in the ICE district development is leading to more individuals getting their names run. She felt that many police officers who worked in the area around BSCS did not know how to work with individuals who are homeless which created tension between the two groups:

> Vicki-Lynn: The increase of policing is ridiculous. And not all of them know how to deal with homelessness and homeless people. Which is very sad, cause not a lot of

them connect. I get it's not a priority, but like we're human beings, like we're supposed to connect to people…it really bothers me when people do things cause it's a job you know and there's only certain things in a job you can do. We as humans we have hearts and that is heartless. You know and it should be a given, you know you shouldn't have to request for them to have some compassion towards these people.

C: Has it affected you personally?

Vicki-Lynn: Yes, it has.

C: How?

Vicki-Lynn: I've never gotten my name run in my life, and now I've been downtown – I've been homeless like I said for five months. And I'm always downtown. And in the last couple months I've had my name run three times. And they're definitely targeting people. You know and it's people who either – I hate to say it – look or associate with homeless people. You know and I have a lot of people – I have a lot of friends who are homeless and associate with that kind of stuff, and sometimes I hang around them, and I find the three times that I had gotten – that I had gotten my name ran and I have no criminal record. And they have absolutely no reason, no cause to run my name…so every spring it's known as spring cleaning…It's kind of like a routine thing or whatever, I don't even know, it shouldn't qualify as a routine thing. But they go and they run people's names, you know they go downtown and run everybody's names, and then whoever has warrants and stuff they arrest them right then and there and spring cleaning usually lasts for like two weeks. But I noticed – this is lasting a lot longer than it usually has.

C: So, this year you noticed it lasting longer than usual?

Vicki-Lynn: Yes, and my guess is probably not going to go away. Obviously, there's been an increase in cops. You see them more and more downtown. And a lot of these homeless people they don't know how to associate cops and a lot of them they do not like cops. You know and it's sad because that negative association and them running everybody's names, that's not going to help any situation get better. And that's not going to build any kind of trust.
(Vicki-Lynn, interview 2016)

The increased police presence in the area around BSCS was also noted by staff when I spoke to them about their relationship with EPS:

> This past year we got a new rotation of Beat Officers that are in this area in the downtown core in our grid. That was an extensive amount. We used to only have like four officers. Now we have about 20 beat officers, so we don't know all of them.
> (Avery, interview 2018)

Along with feeling that they were being targeted for being homeless, both Vicki-Lynn and Koda stated they were often targeted for being Indigenous.

> I live a couple blocks from here [Rogers Place], and the people that like come to and fro, they're like so noisy and it's pathetic. If that was a bunch of natives doing that,

> we'd be stopped like just like that. But the fact it's white people in Oilers jerseys, they – they can get away with, honestly like if you really think about it. Like if that was a bunch of natives, we'd be stopped and ticketed. (Vicki-Lynn, interview, 2016)

These experiences are similar to those found in the literature and media reports. Targeting of Indigenous youth by the police in Canada has been noted by Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011). The targeting of Indigenous peoples by the Edmonton Police Service has also been noted in an investigative report by CBC news that found that Indigenous women were 10 times more likely to be stopped from random street checks than white women (Huncar, 2017). A report on the City of Edmonton Street Check Policy by Griffiths, Montgomery, and Murphy (2018) also found that both Black and Indigenous individuals were more likely to be street checked than white individuals.

The youth's experiences with having warrants out for their arrest and getting their names run by police officers are examples of how their lives are organized textually by the criminal justice system. When youth are stopped by the police and get their names run, if there is no textual evidence of previous offences, then they are free to continue with their day. However, as soon as a warrant with their name on it is identified, youth then get arrested by the police officers. This is an example of a text being enacted leading to a youth entering the criminal justice system.

Staff account of criminal justice work

Once youth enter the criminal justice system, they will be held in various local correctional facilities such as the Edmonton Remand Centre or the Edmonton Institution depending on the severity of the criminal charges. BSCS staff help youth navigate the system and provide them with assistance for court cases and also help them if they become incarcerated. Peyton, one of the staff that works closely with youth that access services in the Youth Unit described that once incarcerated, many youth do not get the support they need to navigate outside the justice system once they are released. Because they are not getting support for housing or any treatment plans, the youth will often end up on the street again, perpetuating the cycle of homelessness. Peyton described the work she does and how she helps youth in jail and once they are released.

> Peyton: I guess to kind of summarize my role, I do a lot of doctor's appointments; a lot of court cases; a lot of jail visits.
>
> C: What does that mean, like do you go with them to all of these?

Peyton: So, either with them or [when] they're incarcerated, I'm going to support them in jail, via just video screen. I go into the jails to see them and meet with them and do things that aren't necessarily getting taken care of in jail, that probably should be.

C: Like what?

Peyton: So, one of the biggest ones is housing or treatment plans. So, what we're finding a lot is when people are in jail the workers will only work with them on why they're there, not moving forward for their needs. So really, they're released to the same issues; they're no further ahead; they're really just killing time; hanging out in jail, more or less. So, if we don't kind of intervene, and further that, if they don't reach out to have my support, they'll just come back to nothing and that's usually like two or three o'clock in the morning. So, its kind of nice for me to intervene because then I can go in and set up a plan; whether that be housing, treatment, some sort of programming for them. And that sometimes helps them get out earlier as well, but just something in place so that they know they're not coming out to failure all over again. And then further that to like provide them a ride, because that can be such a crucial part, knowing that if I can pick them up, then that means they can get out of jail earlier. I can drop them off at a specific destination, not just downtown at say two or three in the morning.

C: Is that normally what happens?

Peyton: Yeah that's normally what happens. So, say if this happens a lot, we have someone going in, in the summer wearing their flipflops and their shorts. And they're getting out in January-February with those flipflops and shorts on. At two or three in the morning. They're probably court ordered to not use drugs, to reside at a certain spot – but where are they going at two or three in the morning? For one.

Also, their safety's at major risk, just being released from jail for who knows what, usually its some sort of gang affiliation; drug trafficking; that's our typical ones. They're going to be on the street, they have to stay up all night, so usually they resort to finding drugs to do or something. Cause you have to stay awake. And also, just the overall overwhelmingness [sic] of getting released from jail. And yeah here we are two or three in the morning.

C: So, there's no plan from the justice system? There's no 'Okay you're being released today' there's no one there to say let's have a plan?

Peyton: No. That's something that I'm really passionate about is like the rehabilitation to communities. Because if you don't have that, there's just the pattern of reoffending. Like there's no way to break that cycle, right.
(Peyton, interview 2016)

A manager at BSCS discussed a similar situation as the staff member regarding how youth are released from jail without any support and how this makes helping youth difficult:

Orange: Right now, they just kick them out at whatever time…And so a lot of times the high-risk youth workers or, or like I'm working now, and I got to pick up so and

so at nine [pm] cause he's being released. I just found out half an hour ago. So, imagine they [youth workers] turn off their phone, like most normal people do. I turn off my bloody phone. Then nobody's there to pick up the kid and, and they might be given a bus ticket, but that's not consistent either. They're just dumped.

C: So, then what happens?

Orange: Well then they're homeless and if they know the street they find somewhere to crash for the night, or they go get high with people, or whatever they're going to do, but I mean it certainly doesn't help them stay on the straight and narrow. If you kick somebody out in the middle of the night and they have to – say if it's a girl, she has to sleep with somebody, so she has a place for the night. Or if it's a young man they, they got to hook up with somebody who's into the drugs or whatever, and so any clean living they've done and any beliefs that they have that they can change their lives, can be screwed up like in the first 12 hours after release… if you just kick somebody out in the middle of the night it's – it's, it's harder to – to change people's patterns. (Orange, interview 2016)

Bottle Picking/dumpster diving

Along with walking around, seeking shelter, drugs and alcohol and encounter with police, bottle picking, and dumpster diving is a common part of work for many youth. It is a means of getting money so they can buy food, help pay the rent and buy drugs. It is seen as legal and safe for the youth and a better alternative than stealing or selling their bodies. When I had the group meeting for the Photovoice project, the youth discussed Figure 5.7:

Figure 5.7 Dumpster diving

C: And so, when you guys see a picture like this what comes to mind, like what do you see?

Vicki-Lynn: I see a person trying to make a living and bottle picking, they're doing what they can to survive

Koda: It's a way of making money you know. You're not robbing somebody; you're not stealing something to sell it. You know you're not making money illegally. You know you're not trying to sell drugs or something to make money, you know

Vicki-Lynn: You're not overly exposing yourself.

Kaiah: I hate doing it. It's better than selling yourself.

The group then discussed what leads them to need to pick bottles:

Vicki-Lynn: I remember I bottle picked and panhandled once because I needed milk. And I needed like some of the essentials to, to kind of survive. When I was near the end of the month or the middle of the month and I was really like, hurting and just you know I couldn't find or get money – that's what I'd do.

C: So, what's the issue that's creating the bottle picking?

Vicki-Lynn: Poverty.

C: So, what are things you think we can do to make it so that you guys don't have to do that?

Kaiah: It's hard to get, it's hard to get on welfare for some people.

Vicki-Lynn: Some people don't qualify for certain assistance.

Koda: Sometimes for a place for jobs, you know you temp agencies require you to produce some sort of ID, you know the SIN number. And if you don't have it you can't even get a job there. Or you can't even, you can't even try to get work, you know.

Vicki-Lynn: Or like some of the equipment, like temp agencies that are mandatory, and some people just can't, can't afford it or they take a certain amount of, of it off their pay cheques, so.

The youth were also proud of this work as they felt they were contributing to society by picking bottles and cans.

Koda: I always like to say it's me contributing to keeping my city clean, you know, and I'll go take em to a place that actually recycles them.

When discussing Figure 5.8, Kaiah mentions why collecting cans and bottles is an important part of her work.

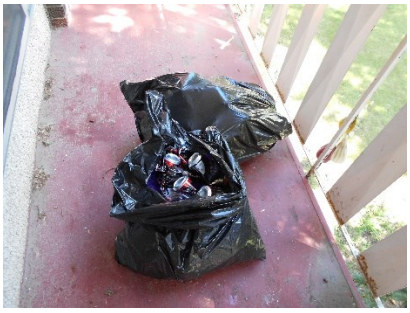

Figure 5.8 Bottle and can collection

Kaiah: “Those are my empties on the balcony.”

C: So why are those empties so important to you?

Kaiah: “Cause I need money…To support my addiction.”

Koda: You know if you don’t have a way to get your next fix or whatever you know, you know how much empties you have to pick or whatever, you know work towards that.
(Photovoice focus group 2016)

Along with dumpster diving to find bottles and cans, youth identified a common practice among the homeless community of entering donation bins to look for clothing (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9 Donation bin

Asha: What me and my friends do when we’re out on the flail…It’s when we were do a lot of drugs and get high …And they’ll jump on the, on top of the handle…And they’ll be in this, inside the clothing bin looking for clothes. Yeah and you know that, that, that’s what a lot of people do out on the streets, you’ll - they’ll jump in clothing bins…See it’s, it’s very common out on the streets.

Vicki-Lynn: And especially if they don’t have what you need at [the shelters] … sometimes you find really good clothes in there.
(Photovoice focus group 2016)

While dumpster diving and finding clothes in donation bins are common practices, they can also be very dangerous. The dangers of dumpster diving came to the public’s attention when a member of Edmonton’s homeless community who was sleeping in a recycle bin was crushed to death in the summer of 2018 (Cook, 2018). In addition, several individuals across Canada died when getting caught in donation bins (Dangerfield, 2019). The youth spoke about how it can be dangerous when their discussion about dumpster diving turned to other experiences with dumpster bins that go beyond collecting bottles and clothes:

Koda: Try to avoid sleeping downstairs in recycle bins. I feel asleep in one recycle bin on Whyte Ave cause I was cold. It was like 2:30 in the morning you know, it was cold, I didn’t want to go downtown so I hoped in that and fell asleep. I got woken up the next

morning to the forks going right in the side and they fucking dumped me in. Dumped me in the back of the truck.

Kaiah: Yeah, my friend in Winnipeg… died that way. And my [other] friend got picked in a truck when they fricking realized it before they chopped him up.
(Photovoice focus group 2016)

The group discussion illustrated the way youth use garbage bins not just for finding bottles, but also as a form of shelter and the dangers associated with that use. Further discussion about this illuminated that the reason youth use bins for shelter is because they may not have access to safer spaces in the city. Several youth stated that youth either do not want to go to local shelters or they are banned from the shelters for various reasons:

Vicki-Lynn: Because sometimes people don't like going to the homeless shelters because they're either barred or they don't like going there.

C: What causes people to get barred?

Kaiah: Fighting.

Koda: So many reasons. We could be talking about this for hours.

Vicki-Lynn: And some of them are so stupid like I've known people who got barred …for just the stupidest reasons. Telling staff to like go away when they're being rude or something like that.

Koda: Issues with staff, issues with clients. There's so many reasons.

Vicki-Lynn: Yeah or like throwing a bottle cap at a staff and then somebody higher up seeing that and barring the person for three months.

When they identified how often banning occurred, I asked them to discuss what they do when they are banned from local shelters.

Koda: Walk, walking around to find a place to stay."

Vicki-Lynn: If it's, if it's summer you go find somebody in a tent, somebody that you know or something, or what I did last summer when I first became homeless, I'd sleep in the stairwells at City Center. Like the back stairwells.

Kaiah: But usually the security come and kick you out and then you freeze, especially in the winter.

C: What do you guys do in the winter if you're not able to find a place?

Vicki-Lynn: Blankets, lots of blankets.

Koda: Go find a place of like an air vent or an air duct, you know, keep the cold off.

Vicki-Lynn: I've known people who they, they break into abandoned buildings cause they don't know what else to do, or they – they go, they put their selves in uncomfortable situations to – to keep warm."

Kaiah: Or I go with a man at a man's place.

C: Do a lot of girls do that?

Vicki-Lynn: Yeah.
(Photovoice focus group 2016)

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter described, in their own words, the situations that lead youth to homelessness and the work that they engage in to survive once they find themselves on the streets. It also describes the complexities of their lives on the streets that create the conditions that cause them to get banned from shelters. The next chapter will describe the work youth do when they are at BSCS along with the work that BSCS staff engage in to assist youth. While I have described this youth work separately, this is an artificial delineation of their work. The youth's lives are not cleanly organized by work on the street and work at BSCS. There is overlap between both. However, for the purposes of understanding their work and how their lives unfold and are organized in the different contexts, I have separated the description of youth work on the streets from the work at BSCS which intersects with work of staff at BSCS. Connecting the work of youth and staff will show how staff work organizes the lives of youth and how banning happens in the context of the BSCS environment. In Chapter 8, I will then explicate how both the work of youth and staff are coordinated by higher level socio-political factors of neoliberalism and colonialism. I will discuss how larger systemic issues ultimately create the conditions that lead youth to becoming banned and perpetuate youth homelessness.

Chapter 6: Youth Work (Inside Boyle Street Community Services)

This chapter expands on the ethnography of youth work and, as is illustrated in Figure 6.1, will show the work that is done at BSCS and how youth's work is connected to the work of staff and management at BSCS. While the focus of this dissertation is on youth's standpoint, it is important to understand the work of staff in order to trace how staff's work is institutionally linked and leads back to the organization of youth's lives. I also found it took interrogating the staff at BSCS to identify the institutional processes that make life difficult for youth. Whereas youth might describe the process of getting housing as hard and taking too much time, the staff were able to explain what the institutional processes were that led to the difficulty in getting housing for youth. This helped connect youth's work to the institutional processes.

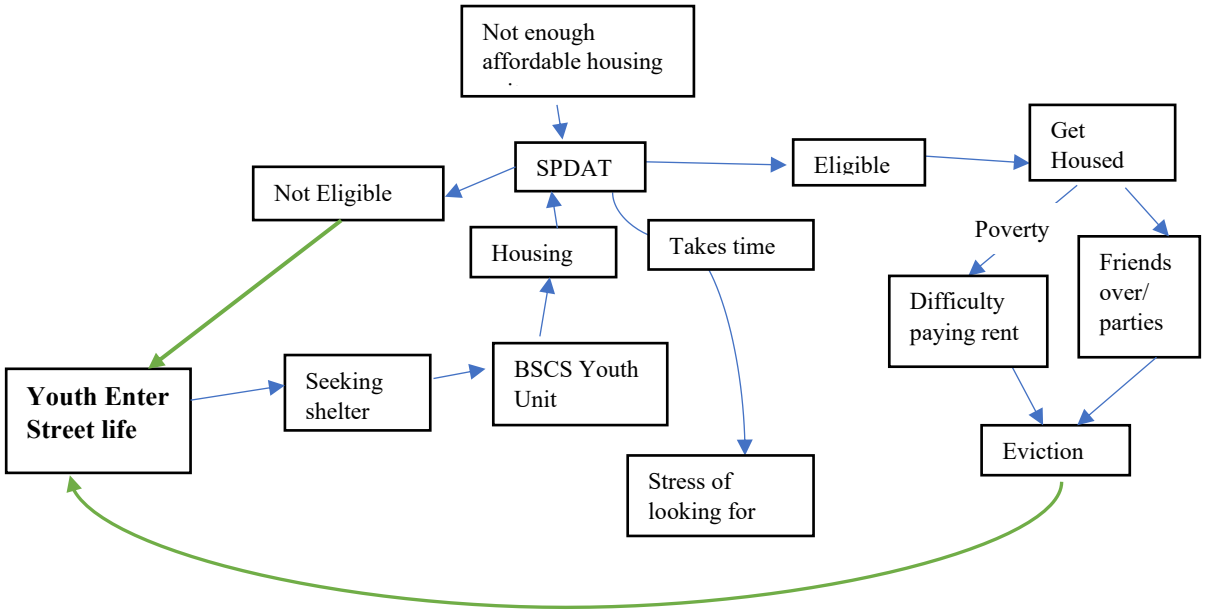

Figure 6.1: Youth Work inside BSCS.

The Place: Boyle Street Community Services

As part of their daily work, youth will go to the Youth Unit at Boyle Street Community Services (Figure 6.2). The BSCS building is located in downtown Edmonton just north of most of the main office buildings and business centre. As noted in Chapter 1, across the street from BSCS a new arena NHL arena (Rogers Place) was built and opened in September 2016. This arena is home to the Edmonton Oilers NHL team and hosts a variety of entertainment activities from large live musical acts like Drake, Shawn Mendes and the Foo Fighters to entertainment shows like Cirque du Soleil and famous comedians such as

Kevin Hart. This brings in a great deal of traffic of individuals who have not normally spent much time in downtown Edmonton and do not have experience with the inner-city homeless community.

Figure 6.2: Boyle Street Community Services

When you arrive at the street in front of BSCS you will generally see many community members standing or sitting outside. When referring to community members, I am referring to individuals of all ages and genders who access services from BSCS. These are people who in other organizations may be referred to as clients, but as part of creating a culture of equity and inclusiveness, staff and management refer to them as community members. Depending on the weather, there can be anywhere from 10 to 20 people outside the building. On warm days, you would generally see more people. When the weather is very cold there are not many people outside, but there will still be a few people smoking or drinking outside. Along with community members, there are always staff members outside connecting with community members and on several occasions, members of the Edmonton Police Service are present connecting with staff and community members. It is also common to find gang members outside the doors of BSCS. As stated by staff and youth, gang members often try to prey on the vulnerabilities of the community members that access BSCS and try to sell drugs to community members or recruit members into their gangs (field note, 2016; Rory, interview, 2016). Because of this, the purpose of staff and police officers working outside the building is to ensure that known gang members do not enter the building and do not harass community members.

Boyle Street Ventures Inc

To enter the building, there are two locations that community can access from the outside. One door leads to Boyle Street Ventures Inc (BSV Inc), a social enterprise program that was established to provide and innovative business approach to help decrease poverty in Edmonton (https://www.boylestreet.org/site-ventures-waterwings). Within BSV Inc are four unique programs: Four Directions Financial, the Water Wings and hiregood. Waterwings is an employment readiness program that assists community members find work. It provides job training and interview preparation and gives community members opportunities to obtain safety tickets for worksites. The Waterwings program helps members find stable, long term work. The hiregood program employs community members who then provide services such as junk removal, window cleaning and snow removal across the City of Edmonton. Along with employing community members that face barriers to employment, hiregood takes all profits and reinvests them back into the community (hiregood.ca).

The Four Direction Financial is a bank that was opened in 2017 to assist community members access financial services. It is often difficult for members of the homeless community to access banking services because they often lack identification, or their ID is often lost. At Four Directions, community members are given the opportunity to keep their ID safely locked within the building so they can access it whenever they need it for banking or for other services such as housing or medical needs. Not only do they keep the ID safe, but the bank uses unique technology like biometric identification where retinal scans are used in order to identify a community member (ATB Financial, n.d.). This technology allows community members to access their financial services without worrying about having identification or worrying about other people accessing their account. Opening the bank in the same building where community members access other services has helped community members save more money and increased their safety. Before the bank was open, community members who received cheques either for work or through financial assistance programs would have to cash their cheques at a Money Mart or Payday loan and have to pay high user fees to cash their cheques (field notes, 2018). Also, once cashing their cheques, individuals would have large amounts of money that they would then often quickly spend, or it would make them vulnerable to theft and violence. The bank has been very helpful for keeping

community members and their money safe and has helped them increase their monthly savings.

BSCS main building

The other door in front of BSCS leads to the main building and the majority of services in BSCS. When you enter the door, the first person you will see is the Concierge. This person greets community members and guests and helps them find the services they are looking for. They also collect data on how many people enter the building and the types of services they are looking for. After the Concierge, you enter the main building. Immediately to the left of the Concierge are the administrative offices that house the Executive Director and some other managers along with the reception area where individuals new to the building will speak with a staff member who will do an intake form. From the main door, you can go upstairs where there are more admin offices and a safe consumption site run by StreetWorks.

StreetWorks is a program that offers safe needle exchange and assistance for individuals living with addiction. Using a harm reduction approach, nurses, outreach workers and social workers on staff provide primary health care to individuals who use injection or inhalation drugs and to individuals involved in the street-based sex industry ("StreetWorks," n.d.). BSCS now operates one of the new supervised consumption sites in Edmonton where community members can consume street drugs under the supervision of trained staff that can help reverse on overdose should one occur.

The upstairs houses the main drop-in area. This is a large room where community members can spend the day staying warm, get a cup of coffee, lunch and engage in a variety of activities such as crafts, music, or watching movies. The drop-in centre is where most of the community members spend their time and it is open before all other services open and after they close. In the winter, the drop-in is the only space that is open for the Winter Emergency Response (WER) program. This is a program where the shelter is funded to be open earlier in the day and later at night. From May 1 – October 31 the drop-in is open from 8AM to 4:30 PM Monday to Friday, but in the winter the hours change to 8AM – 8 PM seven days a week. The purpose of the extended hours is to ensure that people have a place to go in the winter when the overnight shelters are closed. Typically, the overnight shelters open at 8 PM and then send people out at around 8 AM. You can sometimes find youth in the

general drop-in centre, especially at lunch time, but typically they choose to spend most of their time in the Youth Unit.

To get to the Youth Unit, you need to enter from the main doors and go down the stairs. In the basement, there are bathrooms and several other program offices and services. There is a mental health office where community members can get assistance with managing and treating mental health issues they are dealing with. There is a family program where pregnant women, new parents and families living in poverty get assistance such as help accessing prenatal care, parenting and life skill classes and assistance with the child welfare system. There is also a pet food bank where community members with pets can get free food and other pet needs. This service has been integral to the well-being of the community as having a pet is often the difference between life and death for a person living in poverty or experiencing homelessness (Irvine, 2013; Rew, 2000; Rhoades et al., 2015). The pet food bank helps community members keep their pets safe and healthy.

Youth Unit description

Once you walk past the pet foodbank, you reach the doors of the Youth Unit. There are many reasons why youth will go to the Youth Unit. The Youth Unit is a drop-in centre for youth aged 16 to 26. Youth who access services at Boyle Street Community Services Youth Unit come in for a variety of reasons. There is access to showers, they can do laundry, they get toiletry supplies and clothes if there are any available. There are snacks put out by staff two times a day and sometimes they will give out food hampers to youth that need food when they leave the drop-in. They can use the computers or sit and watch a movie or play video games. Often times they just come in for a warm, safe place to stay for the day. They may sleep in the Youth Unit on one of the available couches. There are two social workers and another youth worker who assist them with accessing other services such as housing support, medical support, assistance with the justice system or are just a kind ear who will listen to them. There is also an Indigenous Youth worker who helps youth connect with their culture by giving them opportunities to interact with the land and bringing them to ceremony. Many of the youth have also forged strong relationships with the staff and other youth that go to the Youth Unit so there is a strong sense of community (field note, May 2016). Similar to the discussions that Ben had about the culture of homelessness, this strong sense of

community is formed because the common experience of being on the streets makes it easy for the youth to relate to each other.

Importance of Youth Unit to youth

When speaking with youth about their experiences with the Youth Unit and the staff Who work there, most youth talk about how important the Youth Unit and staff are to them. Both Koda and Kaiah referred to it as a home. Every person I spoke with discussed that the main reason they came to the Youth Unit was because of the relationships they had formed with the staff. When I asked Kaiah why she kept coming to BSCS she stated:

> Cause the staff are like my family. And I became really close to all of them, and it's hard for me to do that. And I love this place so much. All the staff help me lots, all in different ways. (Kaiah, interview, 2016)

The assistance from staff was also reiterated by all the youth I spoke with during this project. The youth appreciate how hard the staff work to help them in various ways. Devin described how the assistance he received from staff at the Youth Unit was the main reason he kept coming to BSCS compared to other agencies:

> C: You like it better here?
>
> Devin: Yeah, I just kind of like the people better.
>
> C: The people as in that work here?
>
> Devin: They kind of help you out more. I've been in more programs done more stuff than anything that would ever happen on [a different program]. I've been helped so fricking much…it's helped me learn, like I've learned a lot.
> (Devin, interview, 2016)

Staff and their work description

Although the staff at Youth Unit are usually seen as very helpful and make strong connections with the youth, many of them do not stay at the organization for very long. As with many not-for-profit organizations, regular turn over of staff occurred within the Youth Unit during this project. When I started the project in 2015, there was one social worker and a youth program coordinator who helped develop and coordinate recreation and arts programs while also providing social work type assistance to youth. At any given time, you can find students from Child and Youth and Social Work programs working at the Youth Unit as part of program placements. Since 2015 there have been several staff changes. One social worker and the youth program coordinator have left and were replaced. They have also

created a position for an Indigenous youth worker who was there to help Indigenous youth connect with their culture. At the time of writing, there were two social workers and a part time youth project coordinator. The Indigenous youth worker that I had connected with moved to a different organization and, at the time, the Youth Unit was currently seeking to find another person to fulfil that role (field note, May 2019).

While all the staff in the Youth Unit have specific jobs related to their title, they tend to do similar work. Because it is a drop-in centre, the staff never know who is going to be there and what their needs are going to be. Regular day to day activities include helping youth with laundry, providing the space for showering and giving out towels, giving out toiletries and clothes, putting out snacks twice a day along with helping youth out with housing references, going to court appearances with youth or doctor's appointments. Peyton describes her job:

> Every day my job is different, we do a lot of crisis intervention work. So what that means is I could have a full day planned and something kind of happens on the fly where there is someone – a girl came in, she was just assaulted; someone just got released from jail with nothing; someone has a court appointment that they forgot about. So really, we're kind of prioritizing what needs to come first and running with that. But I guess to kind of summarize my role, as a social worker I do a lot of doctor's appointments; a lot of court cases; a lot of jail visits. And yeah like besides that … just general advocacy; a lot of income support we do. We have a lot of young female moms, that's why I do a lot of work around their pregnancy, connecting them to outside resources. That's one of the biggest things with my clients is that we're connected a lot to outside resources, so we almost always need to be in the community. So, it's great that my role an outreach position.
> (Peyton, interview, 2018)

Staff also have paperwork and data entry on youth statistics and interactions with youth. They need to attend to this aspect of their work regularly as the data they collect is an essential component for accountability to funders. However, staff often have a hard time attending to that aspect of their job because of the constant need to deal with urgent matters that arise. Peyton described the difficulty of keeping up with paperwork and data entry:

> Today was really like a catch-up day, so paperwork; I have to do a lot of daily stats, so that's every client interaction that I've had. And because my job's like crisis intervention that never happens, so I am never able to get the stats in and put in everyone's data. I usually make a big list and then I'm going back, like usually two weeks and entering it all. Because I really don't have the time to do it. But there's always someone coming in needing something. So today everyone wanted to do their laundry. Everyone was hungry. A lot of people inquiring about housing and with just

> two staff, we kind of took turns doing that. And I might have sat on the computer for 15 minutes. Like someone always needs something. My door is revolving. (Peyton, interview, 2018)

Usually, the last-minute issues that need assistance are not too serious such as helping youth with laundry, or other day to day needs, but other times the issues are very serious. One day, one of the staff was closing the youth unit and when they went to open the shower area, they found a youth had overdosed in the bathroom and they had to immediately assist in reviving the youth. These types of interventions are common and can take a toll on both the staff and the youth that access services (field note, May 2018).

Sense of community and importance of BSCS helping friends

Along with the strong connections youth make with staff, they also have forged strong friendships with other youth they have met in the Youth Unit. I was struck by how strong the bond was illustrated when one day I found two youth working with the social worker to help a friend get out of jail. They were helping another youth who was currently in jail and because he was not a Canadian citizen, was at risk of being deported to his home country. His entire family was in Edmonton and he had no one in his country of origin so if he was sent back, he would have most likely ended up much worse than his situation in Edmonton. What stood out, however was how hard the youth were working to try and help him. One youth had an entire file of other people's paperwork - court notices, warrants, etc. He kept them all in his locker and could make them available if anyone needed them. They were doing their best to help their friend stay in Edmonton and showing that he had support when he got out. The sense of community amongst youth that shared similar life experiences was quite amazing. They had all been in jail and knew what it was like and wanted to do what they could to help each other out (field notes, Feb 23, 2016). The assistance that the youth provide each other is an important support, however, this encounter also highlighted the lack of resources that are available not only within the Youth Unit but systemically. Because of the high case loads and complexities of each case, staff find it difficult to keep up with each youth and as was the case in this scenario, the youth were assisting staff to help out their friend.

Sleep

The ability to sleep in the Youth Unit is also important for youth. The first time I ever walked into the Youth Unit, what struck me the most was how many youth were sleeping on

the floors. My first day full day there in 2015 was a Monday and the youth staff talked about how on Mondays it is often full of youth that need to sleep because they have nowhere to go during the weekend and are often banned from other shelters. Monday morning in the Youth Unit is the first time they are able to find a safe place to sleep. Throughout the months and years that have gone by since my first visit, the ability to sleep in the Youth Unit is still one of the most important functions of the unit. I asked the youth about sleeping in the Youth Unit:

> C: What, what, so let's say – so why is it so important to sleep at youth unit, for you guys, or for the people that are there?
>
> Kaiah: Because you're tired,
>
> Vicki-Lynn: Because if you have nowhere, nowhere else to go and you're tired... And it's the one place where you can sleep peacefully or sometimes.
>
> Koda: You can't even sleep, you can't even sleep in a park without cops waking you up and telling you to leave… It's good to sleep in the youth unit cause they got all those dream catchers, you don't nightmares.
> (Photovoice focus group, 2016)

In Summer 2016, rules were changed, and youth were no longer allowed to sleep on the floor because BSCS building which is a community drop-in centre was not zoned for sleeping according to the City of Edmonton Zoning Bylaw. Therefore, people were not allowed to sleep anywhere in the building. However, initially, that rule was looked over in the Youth Unit. When the rule was changed, it created a lot of distress in the youth.

> Koda: Oh, it sucked because I was really hung over that day. And I went, and I got all comfortable you know ready to pass out…I was like 'Are you serious? Like I just got comfortable, I'm hung over I don't feel good and now you're going to tell me I can't sleep on the floor.'
>
> Vicki-Lynn: Oh, I was so upset that day. My mom and I just got into a huge fight and I took a bus into [downtown], and it was like one. I didn't go to the [Edmonton Overnight Shelter] because I think by the time I got there it was closed. And I was up all night just wandering around. It's the first thing where I actually was really scared. I came to down to here, and I'm so tired I was upset just everything that was going wrong. And I come down and I was about to get comfortable about to lay down. I just wanted to sleep and because I knew that if I was going to stay awake anymore, I'd just cry and cry. … Oh, it was [a staff member] who said, 'You can't sleep.' Oh, I was so mad.
> (Photovoice focus group, 2016)

In the past two years, the Youth Unit acquired several couches and comfortable chairs, so youth are now able to sleep during operational hours in the Youth Unit on the chairs.

Sleeping continues to be one of the most important parts of the Youth Unit. A staff member recently reiterated that the Youth Unit is often the only safe place youth have to sleep because in other places they are always afraid of getting things stolen or getting mugged or sexually assaulted. Staff need to take this into consideration when they have to wake up youth for various reasons such as when the Youth Unit is closing. When they wake up the youth, they need to be careful because youth, in the depth of sleep, may lash out as they are getting woken up as they may forget they are in a safe place and may think someone is trying to harm them (reflection, 2019).

Looking for housing

As mentioned in Chapter 4, youth spend a great deal of their time on the streets looking for short term shelter. For youth that are trying to find a more permanent solution to housing, they often turn to staff at BSCS for assistance. BSCS follows a Housing First program that is funding by Homeward Trust (boylestreet.org) which has a specific protocol to assist individuals in obtaining housing. Housing First is an approach to homelessness that runs under the principle that being housed is the most important factor in helping a person move forward regardless of whether one has addiction or mental health issues (Gaetz, Scott, et al., 2013). To be eligible for Housing First, an individual must show that they have a source of income. Most income sources will come from either Alberta Works or AISH, which can only be obtained after filling out various assessment forms to determine eligibility for funding. Generally, when youth come to the Youth Unit and inquire about housing, the staff in the Youth Unit will refer them to staff in the housing program (field note, 2018). They will meet with a staff member in housing who uses an assessment tool known as the Vulnerability Index – Service Prioritization Decision Assistance (VI-SPDAT). This tool is the first step in a complex, textually mediated institutional process mandated by the funding agency to determine eligibility for housing. The VI-SPDAT is a pre-screening triage tool used to assess and prioritize those that are looking for housing help (OrgCode Consulting Inc, 2015). If through the VI-SPDAT it is determined that the individual can now be connected to a Housing First program, their income sources and level of need for housing

will be assessed using another tool, the Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (SPDAT).

Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool

The assessment on housing need is done using the SPDAT. This is an assessment tool that was developed to assist frontline workers in homeless serving agencies to prioritize who should get housed (OrgCode Consulting Inc, 2015). The tool uses 15 different categories to assess the need of homeless individuals. The full tool can be seen in Appendix J. The tool must be administered by staff who have received training on how to administer it which means that youth may get assessed by someone they do not know very well as Youth Unit staff have not been trained in the administration of the tool. Once the SPDAT is completed, the youth will be given a score that will help determine their need for housing. The score recommendations from the SPDAT are as follows:

SCORING RANGE	INTERVENTION	COMMENTS
0-19	**Housing Help Supports**	Generally high functioning client with shorter periods of homelessness. Needs are not as complex in most of the SPDAT categories. Are most likely to solve their own homelessness, perhaps with very brief financial assistance, shallow subsidy, access to apartment listings and the like.
20-34	**Rapid Re-Housing**	With some supports, though not as intensive as Housing First, the client can access and maintain housing. The focus of the supports will more likely be on a smaller number of SPDAT components. Support services do not last as long as Housing First supports.
35-60	**Housing First**	These are clients with more complex needs who are likely to benefit from case management supports either through Intensive Case Management or Assertive Community Treatment. Scores in the SPDAT are likely to be higher (3s and 4s) in many of the components.

Note: Reprinted from Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (SPDAT) Manual by OrgCode Consulting Inc p. 49

Figure 6.3 Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool Scoring

The score obtained will be used to determine the need for housing. The type of housing support needed will also affect how long it will take for someone to find housing. If someone scores quite high on the SPDAT and it is determined they need permanent supportive housing (PSH), the waiting list for PSH is longer and then an individual may have to wait longer to be housed.

When speaking with a staff member from one of the agencies that funds housing, the reason for why the SPDAT is used was explained as “Unfortunately we don’t have enough resources, and so we have a way of prioritizing people” (John, interview, 2016). However,

relying on the SPDAT as the only assessment on the type of housing can be problematic. Assessing need by a text that has specific criteria may not accurately represent the true need of those being assessed. A staff member from housing describes their concern with relying on the SPDAT to assess need:

> Well I mean you have to measure people in some kind of way, but people are quite fluid and I find numbers and assessments in terms of people – measuring someone's level of need, I don't know I live in the gray in my life, so it's hard for me to get behind it, but I understand the need to measure and quantify, you know. I get that. But I don't know if this is the best way to do it (Tristin, interview, 2016).

Staff at BSCS have also described how the SPDAT can be a barrier for housing. For example, staff recently told me about an experience in helping to find housing for Devin, one of the youth participants. He recently was assessed with the SPDAT and was deemed needing permanent supportive housing. However, the staff that regularly worked with him knew the assessment was not accurate. They felt that Devin would be able to live independently with fewer supports that are needed in Permanent Supportive Housing. By being assessed as higher need, his wait for housing went from 1 year to 3 years (field note, 2019).

Process as a barrier to housing

The entire institutional process of finding housing is difficult and complicated and can become a barrier for many youth. Ben told me that youth have a hard time with the housing process because of all the forms such as the SPDAT that need to be completed:

> That's the biggest challenge, because kids will not fill out a form. Forms are like hieroglyphs to us, it just does not make sense at the time, and there's no pull to get out of the streets. (Ben, interview 2016)

The many forms that need to be filled out to obtain funding and housing can become daunting for youth. The first institutionally mandated step in getting income support from Alberta Works or AISH is that youth need a form of identification. As stated earlier, many individuals experiencing homelessness do not have identification. Staff at BSCS will help youth with the institutional processes of obtaining the proper identification needed to get income support, however, this can take several weeks. Once youth have proper identification, they can then begin the process of trying to get funding and then eventually be assessed with the SPDAT for housing need.

The rules that dictate who can get funding from Alberta Works and how housing is allocated also become a barrier for youth because the factors that make a youth eligible for housing assistance may make them ineligible to get funding from Alberta Works. For example, if a youth is currently homeless and staying in an emergency overnight shelter they do not qualify for Alberta Works. Peyton describes this barrier:

> With Alberta Works if you're homeless you don't need anything. Technically if you're homeless you should be staying in a shelter, which meet all your needs. And then you don't need income to get non-homeless, the shelters meet all your needs.

Peyton then described that if a youth is couch surfing rather than accessing emergency shelter, they are then able to get Alberta Works. She mentioned that if a youth states that they need to pay for groceries and pay the person who is allowing them to couch surf, then it is easier to get income through Alberta Works (Peyton, interview 2018).

On the other hand, if a youth is couch surfing, it will be more difficult for them to get housed through a Housing First program. I asked why couch surfing made it more difficult to get on the list for housing and she stated, "So then you have a shelter" (Peyton, interview 2018). A youth who is couch surfing is seen as having a lower need than one who is sleeping on the street. While couch surfing may put youth at a lower risk of harm, it is still a difficult situation that creates stress in a youth's life (McCoy & Hug, 2016). These examples highlight institutional complexities that are involved in trying to secure funding and stable housing and how these complexities can become a barrier to acquire housing for many youth.

In Chapter 4, Ben discussed the importance of intervening within two weeks of a youth becoming homeless. He stated that if a youth does not become housed within those two weeks, they can quickly become entrenched in the homeless culture. Once they are entrenched, they may be less motivated to seek housing, but Ben stated that at some point a youth will want to be housed. Because the process is so complex it becomes stressful and can actually make youth become less motivated to find housing, thereby perpetuating the conditions that create homelessness. Ben describes this further:

> Ben: I feel like every youth has this period in their homelessness where I'll see them at the breakfast table of a day program and they'll kind of have their heads down and you'll be like, 'Hey what's wrong there Jimmy?' And Jimmy will be in this rare moment where he'll be like 'I just got to get off the streets, you know. Like I'm had enough of this.' This kind of moment of clarity they would say. And that's when you need to strike, cause it comes every once in a while… And it's in that period where they often would approach a staff and be like, 'Hey I need to get off the streets can

you help me?' And unfortunately, the resources available to them are very difficult to get started, there's long sort of waiting lists, and a bunch of barriers. So, it's crushing to a youth who wants to get out, to have all this crap loaded onto them and all these like things when all they want to do is get out. And so often I believe they just say screw it and then go back into the cycle (Ben, interview 2016).

Feeling isolated after being housed

If a youth manages to secure housing, it is not the end of their difficulties. While getting housed is vitally important for keeping youth safe and helping them transition out of homelessness, being housed can actually be difficult and stressful for them. Ben has been housed and talks about feelings of isolation when being housed:

> C: So, if someone is able to find a way out of that culture, how do the other people feel about that?
>
> Ben: I think you're saying if someone is able to make it out of the streets?
>
> Interviewer: Yeah and get housed. You said it's easy to get sucked in, so then what's the feelings when someone is housed?
>
> Ben: Unfortunately, it's not like a jovial celebration, it's more like 'Oh, where is Steve? Oh, he got a place. Ah shit.' And then you just continue on with your life. And though, I've seen people get pulled back into the community because they find themselves in a house with possibly some type of income, and the ability to go forward finally after like two years, maybe of this. And they're overcome by fear, cause everything they've known is now behind them. So, there is that dangerous, possibility of slipping back into it. Because you know it [homelessness] now. The unknown is scarier.
>
> C: Right and the other one [homelessness?] is more comfortable?
>
> Ben: Welcoming is the word.
>
> C: What was it like being in the unwelcoming environment?
>
> Ben: It's very lonely and I had to make my own way, I had to be alone for a while knowing that it would get better…
>
> I was housed and I was removed from the homeless culture, everyone I knew kind of just was no longer part of my life and I was put into… a transitionary living building where you lived with a number of people in a kind of apartment complex, sort of, but you had your own room to yourself.
>
> And it was like a culture shock, cause [what] I wanted to do I could do. I sat on the floor, which was weird, like in my room I just like sat on the floor. Cause like when you're homeless you just have to always stand or just like sleep, or just – I don't know, it was, it was bizarre to experience.
>
> …But loneliness and isolation and a sense of no connection, often comes with a new house, and that's the same thing we fucking went away from to be homeless. It

> doesn't stop when you give them a key, you need to sort of like have a constant sort of a mentorship, an interaction with staff or whatever, and you need to have the right staff, don't just assign youth a staff and hope it works.
> (Ben, interview 2016).

The need to stay connected with community is something I have seen in the years I have spent at BSCS. Youth that I met felt a lack of connection to community when they were housed, and they often went back to BSCS to get that sense of community. Staff stated that many individuals that go to the drop-in even when it is very cold and busy often are housed but are coming back to be with community (Parker, interview 2018). The feeling of isolation and the experience of an "unwelcoming" environment and once youth are housed is echoed in the literature. In two different studies, Kirst, Zerger, Harris, Plenert, and Stergiopoulos (2014) and Tremblay (2009) found that youth who were recently housed felt socially isolated once they were housed and were concerned that the social isolation might affect their mental health. This feeling of isolation increased their risk of becoming homeless again because the youth wanted to connect with their friends in the homeless community.

The risk of returning to homelessness was also seen as a result of poor housing environments once individuals are housed. Anucha, Smylie, and Mitchell (2007) found that when people are housed, they often find the space unwelcoming because the apartments are physically inadequate. In some situations, there were no windows or places to cook or sleep properly. These situations led Anucha et al. to coin the term 'housed but homeless' because the housing conditions were so terrible that individuals felt like they were still homeless even thought they had a roof over their heads.

Housing precarity and evictions

Along with the feeling of isolation and inadequate housing conditions when youth are housed, they may have a hard time retaining housing for various reasons. I spoke with Vicki-Lynn about different issues she has encountered with housing. There was a time when she wanted to try and find housing on her own. While she worked with BSCS Youth Unit staff for moral support and guidance, she wanted to find an apartment without their assistance because institutional processes such as the SPDAT were too time consuming and frustrating. She discussed the difficulty of trying to find housing with assistance

C: What happened to help you to get housed? What was that process like?

> Vicki-Lynn: I did it on my own. I've never been with an agency like Homeward Trust or the housing agencies. Some people that I've known been with them for a couple years and nothing had happened. And I didn't want to wait around. I think it's ridiculous that the housing was that long.

However, even though she was able to secure a place on her own, she struggled with maintaining her housing:

> Vicki-Lynn: I did a three-month lease at a time because they said that they had no past record [of me]. They'd feel more comfortable that way, which you know its fine. So, I've been living there since December and then yesterday I got a text saying that they will not continue my lease cause the – the end of the lease was up at the end of this month. And they said they would not continue it and they gave me a bunch of reasons why, but I am just kind of really disappointed cause now I've got to start all over again, where I've got to uproot and then de-root, and figure everything out. I just thought I was going to live at this place for a relatively long time, and I now it's kind of just like 'No, now it's not going to happen.'
>
> C: Do you have any concerns about the change?
>
> Vicki-Lynn: Yeah, I have quite a few concerns. This place was really hard to find because I don't have the best credit…he was very understanding in the beginning and not very many people are. I know some people they don't like renting [to] people who are on some kind of income who aren't working. So that makes it that much harder. (Vicki-Lynn, interview 2016).

Vicki-Lynn's story shows the precarity of housing for someone who is living on income assistance and does not have a credit history. Other times, youth struggle to maintain housing because their lifestyles increase their risk of eviction. Kaiah struggled to maintain housing for the past several years. Although she had gone through the process of finding housing with the assistance of BSCS staff she was often evicted. Her struggles to keep housing usually were related to her drinking or drug use in her apartment. She also had her partner and other friends over who would drink, do drugs and sometimes would damage the property, which would lead her to get evicted (field note, 2016).

The risk of eviction was something many different staff would bring up when discussing the difficulties youth had in maintaining housing. Dakota stated that when they are housed "they bring their addictions and their party to the new place which gets them evicted eventually" (Dakota, interview 2016). Ironically, it is often the act of trying to reduce the loneliness and isolation identified by Ben earlier that leads them to get evicted. Another staff member stated, "somebody gets housed and then they invite their street family to come live with them because 'I've got a place now, like come' and that obviously results in eviction"

(Riley, interview 2016). Another staff member identified that there are different standards for individuals coming out of homelessness who have been recently housed:

> You get placed in a house that's away from the only community that accepts you and supports you; and you're also told 'Well you can't really have guests over cause the other tenants will complain cause they don't want a bunch of, you know, homeless people hanging around the building'. So, you abandon your apartment, or you get evicted cause you give in and you're lonely and you have your friends over, and then people complain. And its not really the same standards. If I was renting an apartment and I had a bunch of people over and we threw a party probably – might get a noise complaint, but I'm definitely not going to get evicted. (Parker_Logan, interview 2018)

The risk of eviction is an ever-present stress on newly housed individuals and because there is no program for eviction prevention, youth face the difficult choice of losing connection with their community or risk losing their housing (Tristin, interview 2016).

Concluding Thoughts

Chapter 5 and the first part of this chapter have described the work that youth both on the streets and within BSCS. Through the descriptions of their work, we can begin to understand the conditions that lead to them becoming homeless and how stressful life on the streets can be for them. Before many of them become homeless, they face stressful situations at home connected to structural barriers to housing such as poverty and unaffordable housing. They may also encounter violence at home that will cause them stress. Once they find themselves on the streets, they need to find shelter which can be difficult because of similar structural barriers they have faced at home. They encounter gang members that may prey on them to join or will get them to sell and/or use drugs. They need to dumpster dive or enter donations bins to find clothes or bottle and cans that they can bring to bottle depots for money. If they find themselves homeless during the winter, they need to contend with the severity of the weather in Edmonton which makes the need to find shelter even more dire. Even in a safe space like BSCS, they can encounter stress because they may not be able to sleep as long as they need, or if they are trying to find housing, the process is very complicated and frustrating. These conditions all cause them a great deal of stress. This stress coupled with the fact that they may be intoxicated or under the influence of drugs when they are at BSCS creates the conditions for them to engage in behaviours that may cause them to become banned from shelters and BSCS. As a result, part of youth work involves getting banned from BSCS and other shelters and what they must do to stay safe if they are banned.

Next, Chapter 7 will describe what happens when youth are banned at BSCS both from the youth's and staff's perspective, the consequences of banning and how banning is institutionally organized. In Chapter 8, I will then explore in detail the structural barriers such as poverty and inadequate housing that perpetuate homelessness. I will also explicate how these barriers and the socio-political system that produces them create the conditions that lead to banning.

Chapter 7: Banning as part of youth work

The previous two chapters described youth work on the streets and at BSCS and how that work can sometimes lead them to get banned from BSCS and other shelters. As I spoke to more youth and looked at transcripts from previous interviews, I found that being banned from shelters, drop-in centres or other spaces was often discussed. As Koda mentioned in the Photovoice focus group discussion on banning "We could be talking about this for hours." Banning was also commonly brought up by many of the staff I would speak with and I also witnessed youth getting banned from the BSCS Youth Unit on several occasions (field notes, 2016, 2017). As I examined this further, I began to see banning as a "taken-for-granted" practice that is considered a normal part of being homeless. The fact that an organization, whose goal is to keep youth experiencing homelessness safe, has to ban youth in order to maintain social order created a disjuncture between what staff want to do in order to keep youth safe and what they must do in order to comply with institutional policies. The phenomena of youth being placed in unsafe situations such as sleeping in garbage bins, sleeping alone on the streets or turning to survival sex to get shelter because they were banned emerged as the problematic and the entry point into further inquiry for this project. I wanted to learn more about why banning happened and how it was socially organized by higher level socio-political factors.

Banning at BSCS

According to the banning policy with the BSCS Operating Policy and Procedures Manual (see Appendix K) there are different types of bans that happen at BSCS. Most are short-term bans of less than three days that result from minor altercations. Longer bans are ones that involve more serious incidents such as assault or major theft. Indefinite bans occur when someone is banned from the entire building indefinitely as a result of very serious and repeated incidents. I will describe each type of ban but will focus the discussion on the issues around short- and long-term bans as they are most common amongst youth.

As noted in Chapter 1, many of the youth I met have been banned from overnight shelters or drop-in programs outside of BSCS. Some of them are ineligible to go to other shelters if they are high or intoxicated when they arrive there. They go to BSCS because it is one of the few places in Edmonton where youth can go when they are currently high or drunk. Although BSCS has a high tolerance for behaviours and is known across the homeless

community and other not-for-profit agencies as a place where staff are more lenient regarding certain behaviours, there are still times where staff do resort to banning youth from either the Youth Unit or the larger centre. The banning policy outlines what behaviours lead to bans and how long the bans should last (Boyle Street Community Services, 2018). Minor incidents such as yelling at staff, minor altercations with other community members, result in up to a 3-day ban. Front line staff are able to activate a short-term ban without consulting a manager.

If a more serious incident occurs and a ban lasts more than 3 days, management then needs to be consulted. This is to ensure that the ban was not done impulsively by the staff member. A conversation with the staff, community member and management follows. If management agrees that the ban should occur, the length of the ban is communicated with the community member and they are told when they can return. Bans can last anywhere from 24 hours to indefinite, depending on the severity of the incident. Repeated and very serious incidents can result in indefinite bans (Parker, interview 2018). A manager describes the process of indefinite bans and how community members have the opportunity to appeal long-term or indefinite bans so they can try to return earlier:

> So, there's a huge process to kind of get to that point [of indefinite bars], and usually those are serious assaults; serious victimization; and there's a kind of a list of things; succession of bars; that kind of stuff. And you know usually its not a hard decision, often to make an indefinite bar, because something fairly serious has happened. It's usually somebody who's not what we would call part of our community, people not necessarily here to access services, but rather to victimize or prey upon the people accessing our services. Most of the time.
>
> When you get indefinitely barred, you're given a letter which is essentially a trespassing letter, which we share with the Edmonton Police Service, and then we send out an email with a picture, if we have one, of the individual to our community center staff.

The description of how indefinite bans are enacted identifies how this practice is coordinated by texts. For an indefinite ban to occur, an individual has to behave in a way that is outlined in the banning policy. These behaviours outlined in the policy include but are not limited to "serious assault" and "exploitive dealing". Parker went on to describe how indefinite bans can be appealed and the process:

> And that's kind of where it stands, that can then be appealed. And we get people trying to appeal all the time, and there's a process for that. Usually they come to me or they get channelled towards me, and I go through a process whereby I check up on

> with our beat officers on the individual, and I let them know this when they come. I follow up – I sort of look at what the indefinite bar was for and so kind of look at the history, and any notes I have on that individual. I talk to the manager or staff that was involved, and sort of say 'Have they been around? 'Have they been respecting their bar? Do you know this person? Are they accessing services anywhere else?' And then based on that information I attempt to set up a meeting with the individual who is barred and [the Executive Director] and they can bring an advocate, another staff, another person, anybody they want – and then I advise [the Executive Director] . So sometimes I'll say I wouldn't recommend lifting the bar and here's the information that I've collected. Or I would say you know hear them out and you know, here's some stuff in Column A why I might not lift it, and here's some stuff in Column B where I might [lift the bar]. And then ultimately [the Executive Director makes] that decision. And we have brought people back in through that system, sometimes we give conditions. We say "Okay we're going to lift the bar, but you can't be drug dealing. If you're drug dealing, you're going back on indefinite bar, or we're going to lift the bar but part of the conditions are you have to talk to the intake worker and do an intake. And if you don't do that then, A, B and C, you know you might reinstate your bar" (Parker, interview 2018).

While indefinite bars mean that an individual will not be able to enter the BSCS building, BSCS does try to continue to help the individual in different ways if possible:

> Now the last thing I just want to say about indefinite bars, is we still provide services to them if they're open to it, they just can't access them here on site. So if they have a worker that they're working with or they want a worker to work with, or whatever they want some sort of support, you know unless it's a fairly severe, you know serious sexual assault; serious you know likely they're going to be in jail anyways. For those kind of indefinite bars. But we have indefinite bars that, you know, just are people who struggle probably with addictions and mental health, and you know how does that make them any different from other people? So, we still want to provide them services. And so, they can be helped off site, or we can refer them to other places; but we don't deny service other than what they access in the building. And even here we will, you know, if they have a bank account, obviously at Four Directions Financial, we still let them enter to access their banking here. I mean it's their right. Or their mail, they just have to be escorted in, or they have to ask at the front. (Parker, interview 2018)

This account by Parker highlights the disjuncture staff and managers encounter when they must ban individuals. While they need to ban to keep other community members and the organization as a whole safe, they still want to assist individuals who have been banned as their mission is to "build and provide community supports for vulnerable populations who face multiple barriers to inclusion" (https://www.boylestreet.org).

Youth account

When I spoke to youth about what led up to getting banned, they brought up reasons such as being drunk and then they got into a fight. Although the intoxication was not the reason they were banned, being intoxicated caused them to start fighting. Other times they discussed being disrespectful to staff such as swearing at them and this caused them to be banned for the day. I asked Koda about his banning experiences:

> Koda: I was just being drunk upstairs in the Drop-In, just causing problems for people.
>
> C: What were you doing, if you don't mind telling me?
>
> Koda: I can't remember really cause I was a fucking drunk. Most of the time. The only times I ever got barred from here, I was drunk.

Vicki-Lynn was also banned from the Youth Unit when she was intoxicated and her behaviour escalated to a ban:

> C: Walk me through what happened before to cause you to get barred?
>
> Vicki-Lynn: Oh, I showed up really intoxicated, just starting to shake, and then I guess I got barred. [laughs]
>
> C: So that's all? You just were drunk? But people show up there drunk all the time.
>
> Vicki-Lynn: But I was like being like rude and I think I was hitting [another youth] at one point. So that's like the main reason I got barred.

Kaiah on the other had discussed that she was banned because she was trying to sleep In the hallway rather than in the Youth Unit: "I don't like sleeping in the Youth Unit cause it's too loud…I don't usually sleep in there, I sleep in the hallway, but then try to kick me downstairs [Youth Unit]. But I don't listen and then I get barred." (Photovoice focus group, 2016)

The descriptions of banning given above are typical accounts of what happens when youth are banned from BSCS. The youth described behaviours they believe result in banning. However, their accounts do not use language that is found in the banning policy and therefore is disconnected from institutional policies that results in bans. In order to begin to connect youth's experiences to the institutional policies that organize their lives, we need to show how banning of youth is connected to staff who must enact institutional policies created around banning.

Youth Unit staff account

Along with all the other work that staff in the Youth Unit must do, they also are involved in enacting "behavioural management" set by the banning policy which can then lead to banning youth. Peyton describes similar situations as the youth that lead to a short-term and longer bans and how the banning policy is enacted:

> The Youth Unit we have to follow the same barring policy [for the entire building], so if anyone acts out, we have to bar them appropriately. Typically, our bars are just one to three days, and that's what we're authorized to do as front line workers. If it's more than three days, we need authorization from a manager. But that happens very rarely, that's when say a staff was assaulted, something like that. Typically, our bars are someone yells 'Fuck you bitch', or tried injecting in the corner and even that now we're a little bit more lenient on [injecting] because the safe consumption services upstairs, we kind of just have to say 'Hey come on, like lets go upstairs and we'll introduce you [to the safe consumption site staff]'. Really, its just like blatant disrespect is what gets someone barred from the Youth Unit, like not getting along with the other community members down there. Refusing to leave after we close, so sleeping or not wanting to get up.

I then asked for a description of how a short-term ban is enacted by the staff:

> C: So, walk me through what happens, let's say in one of these more minor incidents?
>
> Peyton: So, say someone was outside, like screaming at us through the window cause we're not looking at them 'I fucking hate you, I'm going to kill you.' We just got to go out there and say its time to go for the day, or two days. You can return this day, walk them to the front outside. If they get a little bit more aggressive - that's what tends to happen when we're walking them out. If there's other staff there we'll get another staff that wasn't involved in that to walk them out, but if not, we have to. Sometimes they escalate going up the stairs, and then that's 'Oh here's another day, here's another day', but it's super casual. Walk them outside, see you in a couple days and let the people in the front know that they're barred. (Peyton, interview, 2018)

This account shows how the policy connects staff work to other staff and managers at BSCS. The authorization for different types of bans is dictated by the banning policy. The banning process in the policy states that staff can impose one day bans without managerial authorization for behaviours such as possession of drugs or aggressive behaviour towards staff. If these behaviours are repeated or if youth engage in more serious behaviours such as physical harm or sexual harassment of staff or other community members, then bans can last longer. As per the policy, these bans can only be enacted with a manager's approval. Now youth's experiences and the consequences of their actions are not only connected to the work

of staff but are also connected to a manager who was not there to see the incident because of how the policy coordinates banning.

Earlier in this account, Peyton mentioned that youth may get banned because they are sleeping and not willing to get up. The connection to sleeping and banning is something a staff member highlighted to me and something I witnessed on several occasions at the Youth Unit (reflection, 2019). As stated earlier in the section on sleeping at the Youth Unit, staff sometimes need to wake youth up when they have to close. The staff member mentioned that when they have to wake a youth up who is in a deep sleep, the youth may lash out and may engage in a behaviour that, according to the banning policy, is grounds for them getting banned. This account shows how banning is not only being coordinated by the BSCS banning policy, but also by texts outside BSCS such as zoning bylaws. Edmonton zoning bylaws do not allow youth to sleep on the streets, so they try to sleep on the couches that are available at the Youth Unit. The inability for youth to find a safe place to sleep results in them needing to sleep at BSCS, but if they engage in a reflexive / survival behaviour such as lashing out at staff because they are tired, the BSCS policy dictates that they should get banned.

Drop-in centre staff account

While most of the youth that access services at BSCS tend to stay in the Youth Unit, they also go to the drop-in centre to engage in various activities and to get coffee and lunch. I asked a staff member of the drop-in centre to describe the banning process from their standpoint. They highlighted the nuanced approach they take to dealing with various behaviours and how they try to de-escalate before banning happens:

> So, the process would look a little bit like we have community member A, John for example. John is in the Drop-in and John starts arguing with another community member. We go over to John and say 'Hey, what's going on guys?' And John you know continues, 'Okay guys let's separate you.' So, one staff will take the other community member, I will take John away and try and have a conversation with John. You think that he's calm and he's good to go, he just needs to cool off. Great no barring necessary there. John goes – after John comes back from his cool off period, he comes back and goes after the same community member, now this is where we give them options. 'Okay John, if you're not going to stop, you're going to be leaving for the day.' We try and avoid using the word barred as often as we can, but a lot of times it depends on the community member. Barred seems to sound more authoritative and sets down a ground rule kind of, like establish that this is something that you will be leaving for vs. okay you need to go for the day, that's different.

> I think I use it interchangeably. I use 'You need to go for the day' when I catch a lot of people drinking or using in the building vs. fighting and those kind of more external behaviours, I would say 'You are barred for the day.'
>
> I don't know that's just something that I personally like. I've heard from other staff too have been using interchangeably. And then so once I say, "John you are barred for the day, or you need to go for the day, we don't tolerate that kind of behavior, there's no fighting; I've already warned you once.' So, a lot of times warning, warning someone is not on the bar policy, that's not something you will ever see in any policy.
>
> Usually the barring policy's very black and white. If you see someone drinking, they're barred for the day. You see someone using, they're barred for the day. Now in the drop-in if we barred someone every single time, we caught them drinking, we would not have anybody in here, most of the times. (Avery, interview 2018)

Avery's account highlights how the guidelines from the banning policy are put into practice. Guideline 7 states "When people act inappropriately, they will be reminded of the Code of Conduct and asked to modify their behaviour (this is a non-restrictive intervention). If the person modifies their behaviour, no further action is necessary" (Boyle Street Community Services, 2018, p. 1). While Avery did not refer to the Code of Conduct, she did identify how she asks community members to modify their behaviours in order to avoid being banned. Her account also highlights a disjuncture between policy and practice. She identifies the tensions that staff feel between enacting a policy that follows the expectations of social control developed by the ruling class and the need for staff to respect community members that are often those targeted and policed in order to maintain the social order.

BSCS management account

Because banning of youth is connected to the work of staff and also managers, I spoke with various managers to further understand how banning is institutionally organized at BSCS. Parker, a manager at BSCS describes the rationale behind the banning policy:

> We have to provide a safe environment for our employees and for the service users, and I think there's the norm of the street and that's a reality, and we can acknowledge that but we can say that Boyle Street culture is different than when you're standing out in the front of the building. And you know when you come in here there's a different expectation, and I would say it's a pretty inclusive and non-oppressive and social justice orientated and values based, welcoming, harm reduction, all of these great wonderful things, but it's also a safe place and you know we don't tolerate gang colours and we don't tolerate drug use. And we don't tolerate dealing in the building. And those are things that we've all kind of collectively – community too have collectively agreed that's what we want this space to be. (Parker, interview, 2018)

This account shows how expected behaviours at BSCS are connected to other texts such as the Code of Conduct (see Appendix K). As stated in the banning policy, community members are expected to act according to the Code of Conduct and if there is a violation of that code, banning may occur.

Peyton goes on to describe how banning occurs, how they want staff to try and de-escalate a situation rather than resort to banning right away and when a manager's authorization is required to ban. Banning is often the last resort in response to behaviours that are considered inappropriate by the organization.

> So, for kind of a low level, non serious, serious enough to get barred, but you know, we do it based on time. So, it's a matrix between time and type of incident that determines what your bar length will be. Logistically the way it works is, say we had a community member today, caught drinking in the drop-in, that's a one-day bar. So, you just leave for the day. And you know, you don't go there right away, this is usually after trying to address the problem behaviour using like relationship de-escalation, whatever.
>
> Asking nicely. And once that sort of has, you know run out, then any staff can bar a community member who's infringed on some of those basic codes of conduct and expectations that we have – drinking in the building is obviously not allowed – so any staff can say 'Okay, you're gone for the day for that'. Anything above three days has to go through a manager, which is just a way of slowing the process down and making sure that it's fair that there's some sort of sober second thought I guess, so that we're not just kicking people out because they pissed us off that day.

Edmonton Police Services banning

The maintenance of social control within the walls of BSCS can also go beyond the work of staff and management. Youth and other community members can be banned by Edmonton Police Service officers because they have what is referred to as agent status (see Appendix L). Agent status is a textually mediated process that gives the Edmonton Police Service the authority to impose bans on individuals. A manager from BSCS describes agent status and how it works:

> Agent status provides the Edmonton Police Service with the ability to act as an agent on our behalf on our premises, without asking us permission. So, if you do not have agent status, this is private property, EPS could, for example, not come in here and proactively arrest somebody, right. Or even to the point where if there was an incident and we needed somebody removed from the building, they'd have to get in touch with the official representative of the organization to give them permission to enter. So, it also gives them kind of the ability to come and go as they please, make some decisions about who can be here and not be here.

> To be honest, you need it, I think, so that you can get past that whole 'We need your permission to do this thing'. We have a hard-enough time. Sometimes the response rate we get from EPS is slow enough as it is.
>
> C: Can they ban people?
>
> They can, and they have. Sometimes they over ban. So sometimes they'll be like 'This person's indefinitely barred because whatever they did'. You know and they'll do it without telling us and then they'll [EPS] be angry cause they're like 'we banned them', and I'm like 'well we didn't know they were banned'.
>
> Or they'll just say, 'we've banned this person', but we've kind of come to an understanding that they'll talk to us, and then we'll kind of negotiate that. But they don't do it very often. Usually we work a lot, a lot, a lot to build a relationship with the Edmonton Police Service. (Parker, interview 2018)

This account shows how youth's experiences with banning are also connected to individuals outside the BSCS organization. Community members and youth are banned by police because a text has given EPS authority to ban. Within this text there is no identification of what behaviour is appropriate or not. The ban is up to discretion of EPS. Peyton went on to describe how there is an increase in bans and that EPS at times may place bans on entire areas of downtown rather than just one building:

> There's a lot of police bars now. So, I've started noticing that when I was a Winter Warmer that the police would come in and be like oh, you're barred from this area… They put area bans on people. So, one guy specifically I knew, he couldn't be in this whole downtown core. Within five blocks either way. (Peyton, interview 2018)

Other staff members also discussed how EPS works with them on the ground and How they work with BSCS on banning. There are mixed feelings between staff and community members regarding the EPS presence.

> If EPS wants to place a bar on a known dealer, which we've had a few this winter, they'll communicate it to one of EPS liaisons and say 'Hey this someone whose been dealing to your community. This is the bar we want to place. Are you guys comfortable with that?' And then vice versa, if we need a bar placed on somebody because its really serious and they've been consistently the same behavior and we don't know how to go about it, that's another conversation that we can have. But basically, it [agent status] means is they have free way with the community. So, if they're doing a walk through and they see some dealing happening in the washroom, they have every right to go over, arrest them. We can't say they're on private property. They can go arrest them if they see community members [wearing] gang colors, wearing a lot of red, they can ask them to take it off. They can bar them from our center.
>
> C: So, they can do a bar, just a blanket bar without?

Avery: They can do blanket bars.

C: Without consultation with you?

Avery: They can do blanket. Yet again they can come over to us and say that person was just dealing in the drop-in, we caught them, we are going to bar them. How do you feel about it? Okay you got them, great. There's definitely been some pushback to that with community. In the beginning, always seeing EPS here and not being comfortable that – and then we've heard that some community members want more EPS here because they don't feel this area is safe. I have mixed feelings when it comes to EPS. I don't mind them being here. I think it's good for them to see the uniform get comfortable with that.
(Avery, interview 2018)

Again, the mixed feelings expressed by Avery and by other staff represent the disjuncture between needing to ban in order to maintain social order and wanting to respect the needs of individuals who are often targeted by those who enforce the social order.

Winter banning

A unique challenge around banning that municipalities in northern climates face is banning during the winter. Edmonton is a winter city with the possibility of very deep and long cold snaps. For example, February 2019 was the coldest February in 40 years. The average low temperature was -24.4 C. The city experienced 20 nights that month with a temperature below -20 C and 3 nights below -30 C (Ramsay, 2019). At these temperatures, exposed skin can freeze in 10 to 30 minutes and there is an increased risk of hypothermia (Boeckmann, 2008). Because of the serious risks, banning in the winter can look different. There is a Winter Emergency Response guide (see Appendix M) developed by Homeward Trust Edmonton. This guide is a text that outlines the protocol to follow when extreme cold temperatures arrive in Edmonton. This protocol is enacted when temperatures fall below -20 C including wind chills. Staff describe the process of banning in the winter and how there is a difficult balance between keeping the banned person safe from the cold versus keeping staff and other community members safe and maintaining social order:

Avery: In the wintertime, there was some leniencies because we did have a winter emergency protocol in place when it was really cold weather, when it came to barring. So, anything below minus 20 [Celsius] with wind chill, we would be a little bit more lenient. Obviously if someone is threatening with a weapon, is assaulting staff or community, their bar is set. But if it's things like drinking and using, there is a little bit of leniency.

C: If it's 40 below, someone is barred, legitimately you have to bar them. What is then done to figure out now what happens to this person? They could go outside and freeze. Is there a process?

Avery: So, this winter we had a couple of situations where there were community members who were barred earlier on, but just before the really cold in February. And our funder said, 'You know, people are barred we can't have them outside.' But from a community center perspective that's difficult because we're putting our staff in harms way; we're putting our community in harms way. So how can we kind of meet them in the middle? So, what we were doing was, we would let people who were barred access just that front area of where just in front of concierge. And at the door they can warm up there for a little bit. If we saw them getting into anything else or drinking, or anything on the premises, they would be asked to leave and that privilege. That right would be taken as well. There's nothing formal in place that we have.

C: Do you coordinate with other agencies at all?

Avery: So, some of the things we can do, just because we're the only drop-in center open at those times. So, it's hard to coordinate with other drop-ins. We can send them to [another drop-in] but they're only open till a certain time. And so, it's like where do we send our community? We'll call 24/7 crisis and say, 'Is there somewhere where this person is not barred that they can go to?' So, shelters will accept people, even if it's not regular shelter hours, during the winter emergency time. So [another shelter], they were open 24 hours for sleeping. So, we give the community member an option, 'You know you can't be here. We don't want you out in the cold. I can call the crisis van and they can take you to [another shelter]', as long as they're not barred from there as well.

So, when they're barred from all the agencies. Boyle Street is known for never saying no to the toughest community, and a lot of times if we can accommodate, we do try, even with indefinite bars wanting to warm up. Like we do try and accommodate, but because this winter was definitely an example of us giving community members that leeway and in return, we suffered some extensive and serious injuries to our staff. And that is something that we can't compromise, right. Cause a lot of times that staff don't feel safe being in the center. Don't feel safe working, and other community members are like 'Why are you letting this person in who was barred for a specific reason?' So as much as we don't want community members being outside and freezing, but a lot of times we look at. So, the barred community members we have a list right, we keep track. If people are barred for dealing, for selling, and we know that they're housed, or they have access to other spaces – there is no, I guess there's no leeway. Like we know that if they're able to deal here, and able to manage dealing here; and are only here to deal to our community and you know, take advantage of our community; then they don't have any need to be here. (Avery, interview 2018)

Parker went into more detail on the Winter Emergency Response, how banning occurs and the balance between safety for banned individuals versus staff and other

community members from a management perspective showing that the textually mediated process of the Winter Emergency Response guide takes precedent over the banning policy:

> Parker: I mean some people they get caught they're drinking in the drop-in, they get barred. It's a day, it's not a big deal. Right like they're going to be okay.
>
> C: Unless it's 40 below outside.
>
> Parker: Unless it's 40 below, in which case we probably wouldn't bar them for that. You know there's a threshold. This is a debate in the Winter Emergency Response Program: What is the threshold; how do we determine it?
>
> And what does it mean? So, we say we're not barring people and we're lifting certain bars for the day, what does that mean? Does that mean indefinite bars, that's sort of fuzzy and unclear. Right. Because you also have to protect the safety of the people in the facility, staff and service users. So, if I say 'Okay, I'm lifting all of the bars today, cause its really cold outside' so now we're letting in all of these people who are difficult to deal with, on a good day, but it's a bad day.
>
> Cause it's really cold and its going to be crowded. Is that the right decision? You know we're often not funded properly to manage those kinds of fluctuations. So, the weather goes in the tank and then we can't leave these people outside. You know we're only supposed to be here for people who are homeless in the evenings and weekends, but we know a lot of people come here who have houses cause this is like their community space. So that creates a dynamic. So, I think staff do the best they can. And they try to manage situations on a case by case basis, and that usually works for us, but not always. And we just have to be adaptive and fluid, and okay with the grey on some days. And that's just a part of working at Boyle Street.
> (Parker, interview 2018)

Consequences of banning

When banning happens in the winter, it can put youth in a dangerous situation if they are not able to find a place to stay warm. Youth stated that they would break into abandoned buildings, sleep on air vents and many young women will resort to survival sex in order to have a warm place to stay (Photovoice focus group, 2016). Regardless of the time of year that banning occurs, a ban means youth are not allowed to access the building or the services within the building. This means they are not able to go into the Youth Unit, have a shower, use the computer and connect with their friends. If they do have a worker (mental health, housing, youth worker) that they need to connect with, those workers will often meet them outside the building. Sometimes the worker will bring them lunch if they are banned. Depending on their status at other organizations, during the day youth may choose to go to other organizations that assist homeless youth, or they may go to the nearby mall or spend

time at the library. However, they are often banned from those places as well. Youth often describe being banned from drop-in shelters, overnight shelters, malls and the library (field note, 2016).

Some find a friend's place to stay at and will couch surf until their ban is lifted. However, if they are not able to couch surf, they can find themselves in the unsafe situations described earlier. They may also engage in higher drug use such as crystal methamphetamine as it allows them to stay awake all night as sleeping on the street makes them more vulnerable. When I asked youth what they did when they were banned, they responded:

> Koda: Walk around to find a place to stay.
>
> Vicki-Lynn: If it's summer you go find somebody in a tent, somebody that you know or something. What I did last summer when I first became homeless, I'd sleep in the stairwells at City Center. Like the back stairwells. But usually the security come and kick you out and then you freeze, especially in the winter.
> (Photovoice focus group, 2016)

Textual coordination of banning and links to ruling relations

By examining how banning is textually coordinated, we can begin to show how youth's activities are not random, but rather are connected to and coordinated by social and ruling relations. It is only when staff at BSCS enact the banning policy, which was written to enforce the agenda of ruling relations arising outside the organization, that youth's behaviours are considered "inappropriate or unacceptable". If staff "let it go" or "turn a blind eye" to those behaviours, youth do not get banned. This is an example of how banning is a textually mediated process because it only happens once policy is enacted.

Another example of how behaviours that youth engaged in were not considered unacceptable until a text was activated was the issue of sleeping in the youth unit. While BSCS is not zoned for sleeping, as stated in Chapter 6, youth often sleep in the Youth Unit because it is often the only safe space for them to rest. However, when staff were told they had to enforce the zoning bylaw, youth were not allowed to sleep there anymore. Enforcing this textually mediated process led to youth being banned either because they were breaking the sleeping rule, or because, when told they could not sleep, it led to them to acting in ways that were considered inappropriate under the banning policy. This example also highlights how the actions set in motion by the banning policy link the youth and staff to others located beyond the BSCS Youth Unit. When youth act out because they cannot sleep, this sets in

motion a ban that is coordinated by the banning policy that was created by managers, staff and other community members who are located outside the Youth Unit. However, when banning happens because they are sleeping in the Youth Unit, the ban is connected to a bylaw created by policy makers outside of the BSCS organization. While Youth Unit staff may not want to ban the youth for sleeping, they must enact the ban because they are accountable to BSCS managers who are ultimately accountable to the City of Edmonton that creates the bylaws. Violating the zoning bylaw would open the organization to financial penalties. Having to enforce a ban because of zoning bylaws also highlights the disjuncture between wanting to keep youth safe and putting them in unsafe situations with a ban.

Youth getting banned by EPS who use agent status is another example of how youth's bans are coordinated by texts created by individuals outside the BSCS organization. Through agent status, youth and other community members can be banned by police because this text has given EPS the authority to ban. Within this text there is no identification of what behaviours lead to bans. Banning is up to discretion of individual police officers.

Showing how bans are textually coordinated helps to empirically connect the youth's and staff experiences to the ruling relations and a government agenda of social order and social control. The banning policy refers to restricting access to BSCS in order to ensure people act in a way that "does not undermine safety or infringe on peaceful enjoyment" (Boyle Street Community Services, 2018, p. 1). Ensuring that violent offences do not happen within the building is essential to everyone's safety. However, many of the behaviours listed as unacceptable are not violent offences but rather minor infractions such as drinking in the drop-in centre that ultimately do not harm everyone's safety. These rules identified in the policy reflect rules created by the dominant society that have expectations of how citizens should act (Schneider et al., 2010). These expectations come in contrast with how many individuals that access services at BSCS may behave. Parker stated in the management account earlier in this chapter, there is a "norm on the street" and that expectations both at BSCS and by those that enforce the laws of the ruling class are different than street norms.

As seen in this chapter, the disjuncture that staff experience between having to maintain social order and putting some community members in harms way highlights the disparity between what the ruling class deems socially acceptable and behaviours that are a part of the culture within the homeless community. BSCS works very hard to keep staff and

community members safe while also meeting people where they are at and having a very low barrier with respect to substance use. However, it is important to note that even a low barrier, the harm reduction institution creates policies that echo and enact the social order that is prioritized by the dominant culture of the ruling class; the same culture that has created the conditions that lead to homelessness in the first place.

Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter, I have detailed what banning is and how it happens from youth's, staff's and managers' standpoints and have identified the texts that coordinate the banning process at BSCS. I discussed the complexities of banning individuals during the winter months, the consequences of banning to youth and have also highlighted how banning is used as a means of social control. I used the process of banning to illuminate how youth's experiences are coordinated by textually mediated practices and how these practices connect youth to ruling relations located outside of BSCS. This connection will show how youth's experiences are connected to and coordinated by higher level socio-political ideologies. In the next chapter, I will expand on the discussion of banning and social control and how the enforcement of social control is influenced by higher level socio-political ideologies. I will discuss how banning is a symptom of systemic barriers that are created and perpetuated by current socio-political systems. I will explore the connection between systemic issues of poverty, neoliberal polices and commodification of housing to youth's experiences and banning. I will also discuss how these socio-political ideologies can create and perpetuate the conditions that lead to homelessness.

Chapter 8: Discussion

When I began this research, I initially set out to understand how youth's experiences were shaped by urban revitalization and to ultimately connect those experiences to the greater socio-political systems that organize their lives. As I progressed in this project, I found that being banned from various shelters was a common taken-for-granted phenomenon that happened to all the youth I spoke with in this project. I moved my inquiry towards understanding how banning happens and how it is organized. Through this inquiry, I was able to make empirical connections between the youth's experiences with banning and policies that are created by ruling relations. Similar to Wacquant (2012), I discovered that banning is, in effect, one way of enforcing neoliberal ideals of social control for the benefit of the ruling class. However, as I explored the connection between banning and ruling relations, it became apparent that banning was a symptom of the larger structural barriers of poverty, discrimination and lack of afforadble housing that youth face daily. These structural barriers are also coordinated by higher level socio-political forces. I found that the practice of banning became the lens through which to understand youth's experiences and to make an empirical connection to higher socio-political ideologies. The explication of banning helped me to gain a better understanding of how the socio-political ideologies of colonialism, neoliberalism and the financialization of housing organize the lives of youth experiencing homelessness in various aspects of their lives.

In this chapter, I will discuss how these socio-political ideologies have created the conditions that lead to youth entering street life. I will show how the processes that are set in motion before youth become homeless have been organized and impacted by larger social forces. The complexities of these processes along with the combination of stress while being on the streets create the conditions that lead to youth being banned from the places they need in order to survive. I will attempt to show that it is institutional relations, whose main goal is to serve governance of ruling relations rather than of those who are in need, that contribute to the perpetuation of youth homelessness. It is these relations that lead to difficulty in getting youth housed and the behaviours of youth that cause them to get banned, rather than revealing failures in the system, echoing the work of Nichols (2014). Finally, I will provide an overview of the dominant discursive organization of homelessness and will then show how I identified links from my data into the ruling relations of these discourses.

Entering homelessness

To understand the complex processes that continue to perpetuate youth homelessness, we can begin with youth's experiences at home and the reasons they end up on the streets. While some children 'run away from home' or end up in foster care because of bad parenting and abuse, this is not always the case. As illustrated in Figure 8.1, we can uncover the reasons that children enter the child welfare system and/or end up on the streets and see that they are much more complex and nuanced than the direct line from childhood home conditions and youth homelessness. In the next section, I will explicate further and use the analytic map to illustrate that the conditions that lead to youth experiencing homelessness, such as the unaffordable housing, living in poverty and a stressful home environment, are coordinated by higher socio-political factors.

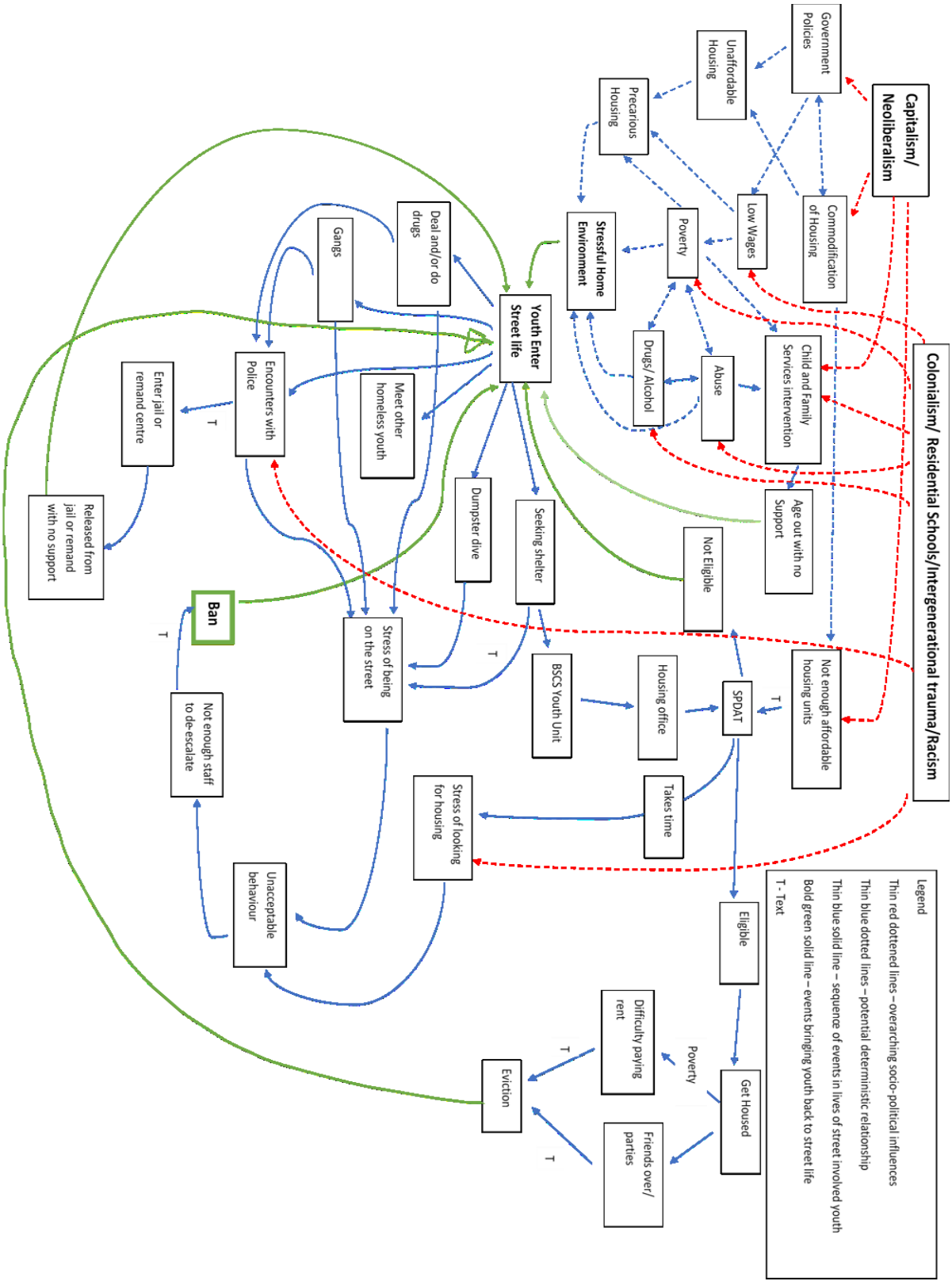

Figure 8.1: Socio-political connection to homelessness and banning

Entering child welfare system

Staff at BSCS identified that youth who become homeless often grow up in households where their parents may not be employed and must survive on government assistance programs such as AISH[3] or Alberta Works[4]. If their parent is employed, it is often in a low paying job. This, coupled with high rental rates can make it difficult to keep up with monthly rents and maintain the family's housing, thus increasing the risk of becoming homeless. As noted in Chapter 5, it was not uncommon to find youth whose first experience of homelessness was with their parents and that their parents may also have experienced homelessness at various points in their lives. Kneebone (2018) has confirmed that the structural factors of poor labour market opportunities, low wages and insufficient government income supports can make homelessness inevitable. Also, while wages and income supports have stagnated in the past 30 years, the cost of both renting and buying a house has increased significantly leading to a dearth of affordable housing units (Kneebone & Wilkins, 2016).

Living in poverty coupled with lack of affordable housing options can increase stress that youth's parents encounter. While not always the case, youth described that this stress could lead to an increased risk of drug and alcohol abuse amongst their parents. There was also a higher risk of parental violence towards their children. Because of this, young people may leave home and experience homelessness, or they may enter the child welfare system. However, as was illustrated in Chapter 5, children often enter Child and Family Services because their mothers are not able to find sustainable and affordable housing and are forced to surrender their children. The apprehension of children by the child welfare system due to poverty is a complex process that connects the experiences of children and youth to individuals outside their family who work for government agencies such as Alberta Works or Child and Family Services. The staff at these agencies are accountable to the government institutions that set the rules for income assistance or child welfare. If parents do not follow the rules their children will be required to enter the foster care system that is also complex and can lead to a great deal of stress.

[3] AISH pays approximately $2000/month (includes $200 for first child and $100 for each subsequent child)

[4] Alberta Works pays between $1293 - $1568 for a single person with 2 children depending on their ability to work

The conditions that lead to children being apprehended due to poverty are also influenced by neoliberal restructuring of government and imposed austerity measures. Across Canada, funding cuts to social welfare programs has caused the child welfare system to do more with fewer resources (Smith, 2011). Because of this, service providers must find "efficiencies" in their work practices. In Ontario, social workers found that "transformational" practices that included finding flexible approaches to child welfare issues such as kinship care or mediation that would focus on keeping families together were discouraged as they were found to be less "efficient" from a cost perspective than apprehending a child from the family. Most recently, austerity measures implemented by the United Conservative Party government in Alberta have led to cuts to parent support programs and have changed the cut off age for youth in care funding from 24 years of age to 22 (Riebe, 2019; Yousif, 2019). These cuts have greatly increased the stress of individuals that rely on these funds. One woman impacted by the cuts stated in the Yousif article "My first thought was, 'I'm going to be homeless because I can't pay my rent'" (2019, para 8). While too soon to see the consequences of this recent change, staff at BSCS are also concerned that these types of funding cuts might lead to more individuals experiencing homelessness in the near future (personal communication, BSCS staff, 2019).

The neoliberal focus on individualism is also a factor that increases the risk of children getting apprehended from their families (Brown, 2003; Keddell, 2018). This neoliberal ideology views children as individuals in need of intervention from their irresponsible parents who have "failed" as individuals rather than prioritizing the need of keeping families intact (Keddell, 2018). However, the reason many parents are deemed irresponsible is because they are living in poverty and find it difficult to provide for their children. The neoliberal ideology of individualism believes that apprehension will help children "optimise future functioning" and become responsible citizens unlike their parents.

The apprehension of children living in poverty also shows the bias from the child welfare system towards the mothers of these children. There is a middle class ideal of what childhood and the homes children live in should look like, and if mothers living in poverty cannot meet these standards, they risk having their children apprehended (Bradt et al., 2014). The discrimination that low-income mothers face when dealing with the child welfare system was highlighted in a dissertation by Breton (2018) that examined the experiences of women

and children with the child welfare system in Ontario. She compared stories of mothers who were in need of intervention because of intimate partner violence. She found that low income mothers fleeing abusive partners were under constant surveillance and often penalized by the state for not being able to provide for their children. On the other hand, middle income mothers in the same situation who could afford a traditional middle-class environment for their children were seen only once by child welfare workers and then left alone.

The child welfare system also disproportionately impacts Indigenous families as discrimination in child welfare apprehension is often seen amongst Indigenous families. Indigenous children enter the child welfare system at a disproportionately higher rate than other children. The 2016 Canadian Census found that although Indigenous children accounted for only 7.7% of the child population, approximately 52% of children in foster care were Indigenous (Government of Canada, 2018a). Normative ideals of what constitutes an ideal home environment are grounded in settler colonialism. These ideals, along with stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as "drunk Indians", were the reason Indigenous children were placed residential schools and continue to be apprehended from their families (Allan & Smylie, 2015). Notably, several of the youth in this study and many of the youth that BSCS staff work with who had ended up in foster care were Indigenous.

Once youth enter the foster care system, it is often a stressful and difficult experience. BSCS staff indicated that many young people move from one foster home to another and can face multiple placements before they turn 18 (field note, 2019). In a scoping review on permanency and safety in foster care across North America, Bell and Romano (2017) substantiated that children face multiple placements along with a risk of maltreatment while in foster care. If a child is not adopted, they will remain in government care until they are 18 years old. My work with youth in Edmonton revealed that once they age out of the system, youth are often not provided the necessary supports to transition out of care successfully such as assistance with finding and maintaining housing, proper budgeting and employment skills (field note, 2019). This is consistent with other research that has shown that many youth lack independent living skills such as knowing how to rent and maintain an apartment, cooking and cleaning, grocery shopping, finding work, and/or staying in school (Gaetz, O'Grady, Buccieri, Karabanow, & Marsolais, 2013b). Without learning these skills, youth transitioning out of care will be at an increased risk of experiencing homelessness.

Life on the street

Once on the streets, the lives of youth may seem haphazard and unorganized. However, upon closer look, we can identify the same structural and systemic forces that youth experienced before becoming homeless, such as poverty, discrimination and lack of safe and affordable housing, coordinate their lives when on the street (Krüsi et al., 2010). As was described in Chapters 4 through 6, the day to day life and activities for youth that experience homelessness can be very complex and quite stressful.

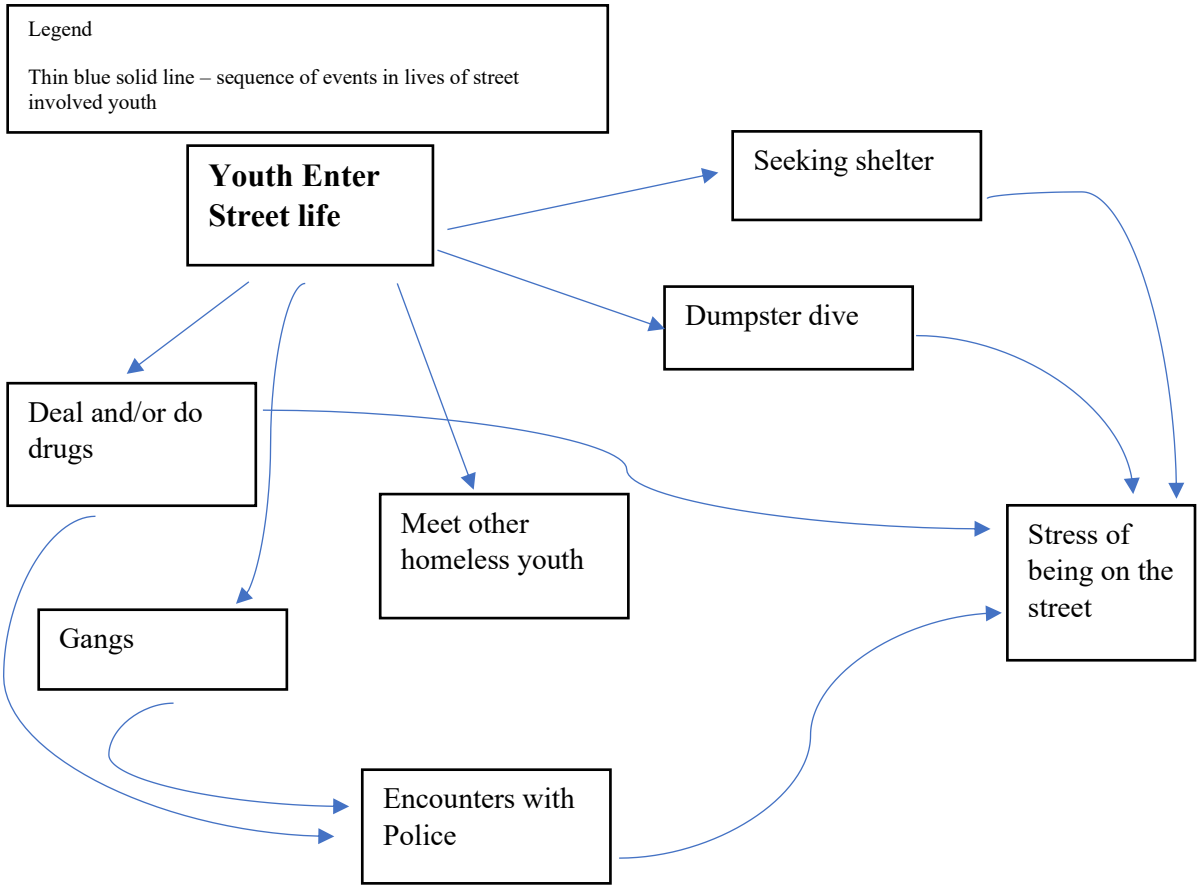

Figure 8.2: Stressors encountered while on the streets

While on the streets, the youth from this project encountered similar stresses to those that have been identified in the literature (Gaetz, O'Grady, et al., 2013b; Krüsi et al., 2010; Saewyc et al., 2013). As seen in Figure 8.2, these include stresses such as dealing with gangs, encounters with police, trying to acquire the drugs they need to deal with their addictions and hoping the drugs are safe, having to dumpster dive in order to find food, clothing and cans for money.

Police and criminal justice system encounters

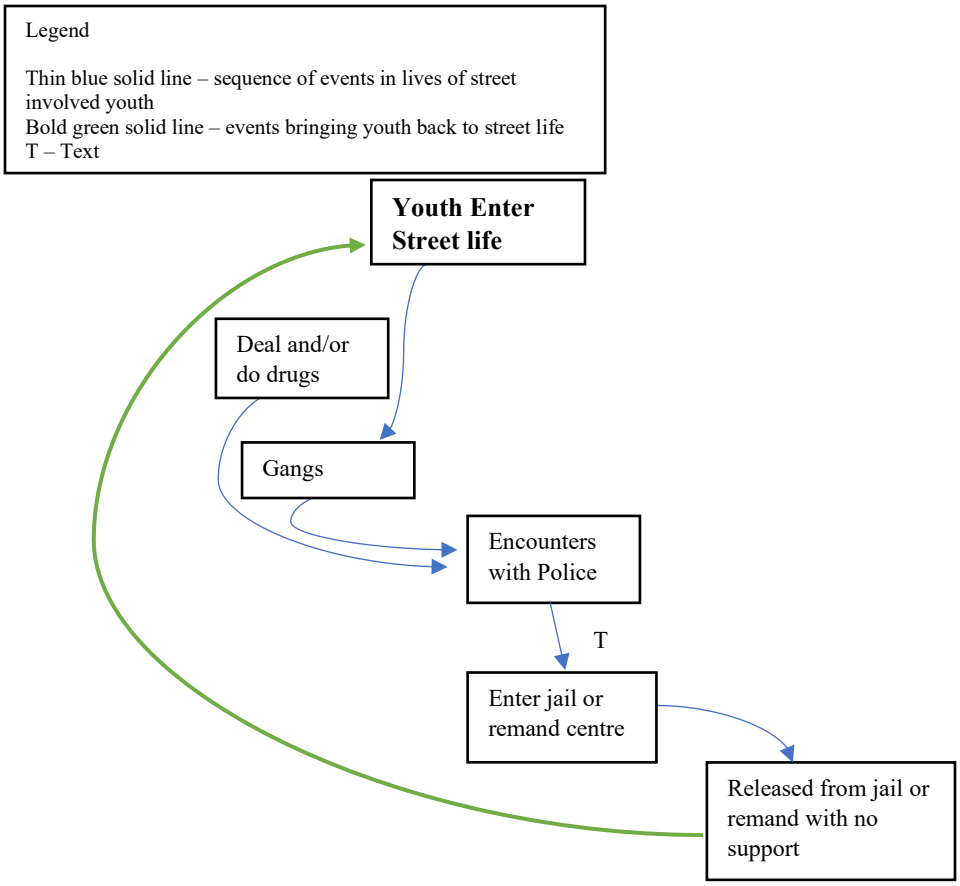

Figure 8.3: Youth encounters with police and the criminal justice system

Street involved youth will often have encounters with police and the criminal justice system as a result of involvement with gangs, selling or using drugs, and for a variety of other infractions. As was seen in Chapters 5 and 7, Edmonton Police Service officers use several textually mediated practices such as serving warrants or using agent status in their encounters with youth. Police encounters such a these can be influenced by the need for the neoliberal state to enforce social control over individuals that are seen as deviant in the eyes of the ruling class (Wacquant, 2009). That deviance is often equated to individuals living in poverty and on the streets because they do not meet the western normative ideal of citizenship (Schneider et al., 2010). Enforcing social control is often done as a means to control the social disorders such as aggressive panhandling that are created by those living in poverty (Wacquant, 2012), and it is often used as a measure to keep the homeless out of sight from the middle class. This was evident in studies on how individuals experiencing homelessness were treated during various Olympic games. In two separate studies, Kennelly

and Watt found that police were used to move individuals experiencing homelessness away from spaces where spectators of the Olympic games in Vancouver and London would convene (Kennelly & Watt, 2011; 2013). Similar enforcement was echoed by Koda and Vicki-Lynn in Chapter 5 and has been documented by others in Edmonton where police are directed to keep members of the homeless community away from Rogers Place during events (Kafara, Scherer, & Davidson, 2017; Lakoff, 2019).

The enforcement of homeless individuals can also be seen in what has been coined as "hostile architecture". This is architecture such as sidewalks with spikes or benches with spikes or barriers in the middle of the bench that makes it difficult for people living on the street to sleep on (Licht, 2017; Petty, 2016). This type of hostile architecture can be found in many places in Edmonton and most significantly surrounding Rogers Place where all benches have barriers for sleeping. Another way of exerting social control over street involved youth is in the criminalization of panhandling (Amster, 2003). While panhandling on its own is not considered against the law in Edmonton, the bylaw states that "Aggressive Panhandling" is not allowed (City of Edmonton, 2019a). Under this bylaw, if a person panhandles while under the influence of drugs or alcohol, then it is considered "aggressive panhandling". Since many youth that experience homelessness use alcohol and drugs, they could then be charged with aggressive panhandling, which is another way for them to encounter the criminal justice system. This is another example of how youth's lives are textually organized by policies created to enforce social control.

Depending on the infraction, youth will enter the criminal justice system and have to spend time in either the Edmonton Remand Centre or other correctional centres. Once incarcerated, the correctional system may provide general supports such as education and life management skills (Government of Alberta, 2019a), however, many youth do not get the supports they need to navigate outside the justice system once they are released. Staff stated, "what we're finding a lot is when people are in jail, the workers will only work with them on why they're there, not moving forward for their needs" (Peyton, interview 2018). Because youth are not getting support for housing or any treatment plans, they will often end up on the street again and in the same situations they found themselves in when they first became homeless. This is a vulnerable time where there is an increased likelihood of joining a gang, exacerbating an addiction and perpetuating the cycle of homelessness.

Youth being released from the correctional system with no supports is contrary to the recommendations made by the *Community Strategy to End Youth Homelessness in Edmonton* (Homeward Trust, 2015) and Alberta government's *Plan to Prevent and Reduce Youth Homelessness* (Government of Alberta, 2015). Both documents suggest adopting a policy of zero discharge into homelessness by creating housing supports for youth when they are discharged from systems (Government of Alberta, 2015; Homeward Trust, 2015). *Edmonton's Updated Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness* (Homeward Trust & City of Edmonton, 2017) acknowledges that zero discharge into homelessness is not happening. As part of its goal to prevent future homelessness, targets are that "by 2019, people will be diverted from entering the homeless- serving system with an immediate link to community-based prevention supports within five days wherever possible and appropriate" and "achieve zero discharge into homelessness by 2023" (Homeward Trust & City of Edmonton, 2017, p. 10). Based on the experiences of youth in this project, supports are not being put in place to support youth when they exit the correctional system. It would seem that not following zero discharge to homelessness is a failure of the system, but in actuality, it is being coordinated by a system that does not foster simple coordination across sectors. In a society where competition for funding is seen not only across the not-for-profit sector but also across government departments, it can be difficult to get agreement on how programs that span different ministries and sectors will get funded. Because of the siloed nature of government funding, correctional services in the Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General would not be working on housing support programs as those are the responsibility of Ministry of Seniors and Housing (Crawford, 2018).

Trying to find temporary shelter

One of the main causes of stress for youth comes from trying to find shelter. Whether it is emergency overnight shelters or finding permanent housing, there are several rules and regulations mandated by the different organizations and often the rules are different across organizations. As revealed in Chapters 6 and 7, the inconsistency and complexity of shelter rules can make it difficult to access and find shelter. When youth find themselves on the streets, they spend a great deal of their time trying to find shelter. Most of the time, they are dealing with their acute needs which means finding a temporary shelter. These come in the form of couch surfing, homeless encampments, drop-in centres during the day and

emergency overnight shelters, which are defined as short stay accommodations for people in crisis (City of Edmonton, 2019b). If youth cannot or are unwilling to stay at these various shelters, they may seek shelter in abandoned buildings or empty stairwells.

There are several reasons why youth may not stay at emergency shelters. A recent report from the City of Edmonton showed that access to emergency shelters was limited at times because of overcrowding (City of Edmonton, 2019b). However, the report also stated that individuals (youth and otherwise) were choosing not to stay in these shelters because they felt shelters were unsafe and overcrowded. Like the youth in this project, youth in the report also felt that the shelter rules meant to maintain social order and control were too stringent and did not allow for people to be independent, stripping them of any control they had in their lives. These findings are also substantiated by Krüsi, Fast, Small, Wood, and Kerr (2010) who found that youth often chose to stay on the streets rather than access shelters whose stringent rules made youth feel like they were in a correctional facility. Because many people experiencing homelessness are Indigenous, the lack of supports and trauma informed services for them was found to be a barrier to accessing services at local shelters. Also, while there were no youth in this study that identified as LGBTQ, a report by the Edmonton Social Planning Council found that LGBTQ youth have been denied access to shelters because of their LGBTQ status (Sharifi, 2016). Finally, the City of Edmonton report (2019b) stated that many individuals were banned from these shelters and even if they were not, they felt the reasons for getting banned were arbitrary which caused them to not want to seek shelter at these agencies. Krüsi et al. (2010) also found that many youth are not able to access shelters because of stringent abstinence rules that cause youth who use drugs and alcohol to be turned away. The youth in this project also stated they were not able to access certain shelters if they were drunk or high because of the abstinence rules practiced in some shelters.

Abstinence rules can be connected to a need for risk management that falls under social control in a neoliberal regime. In Canada, a "war on drugs" approach that was used in the US was not as successful in creating public fear of an illicit drug problem (Jensen & Gerber, 1993), and Canada continues to have a more liberal attitude towards drug use compared to the United States (Jensen et al., 2004). Nevertheless, engaging in drug and alcohol use are referred to as "risky behaviours" and youth with addictions are considered "at-risk". There is often a need by the state to construct these youth as unsafe and in need of

controlling for the benefit of the public good (Nichols, 2017; Souleymanov & Allman, 2016). Even agencies that are considered low barrier and practice harm reduction like BSCS must engage in this type of risk management in order to remain accountable to their funders under a neoliberal state. In fact, some have argued harm reduction practices, which began as an illegal activity by activists in defiance of the state, have been influenced and come under control of the ruling political class as they have evolved (Smith, 2012). In order to maintain funding and gain political acceptance, harm reduction centres such as BSCS often use neoliberal concepts of reductions in spending and keeping communities safe to convince politicians of the merits of the practice (Roe, 2005; Smith, 2012).

Getting housed

While accessing temporary shelters is important when youth are homeless, ultimately, the goal for youth and youth workers is to find permanent housing. Staff want to intervene quickly when they meet newly homeless youth before they get stuck in the culture of homelessness, are approached by gangs or develop more serious addictions (Stevie, interview 2016). However, intervening quickly is impossible due to complex textually mediated processes that need to be followed because of a dearth of affordable housing and permanent supportive housing options. Because of this, staff have to follow the triage protocols set out by funders and all levels of government which take time and patience. The complexity of these protocols frustrates youth and leads them to go back to the street and become more entrenched in the homeless culture and vulnerable to gang life.

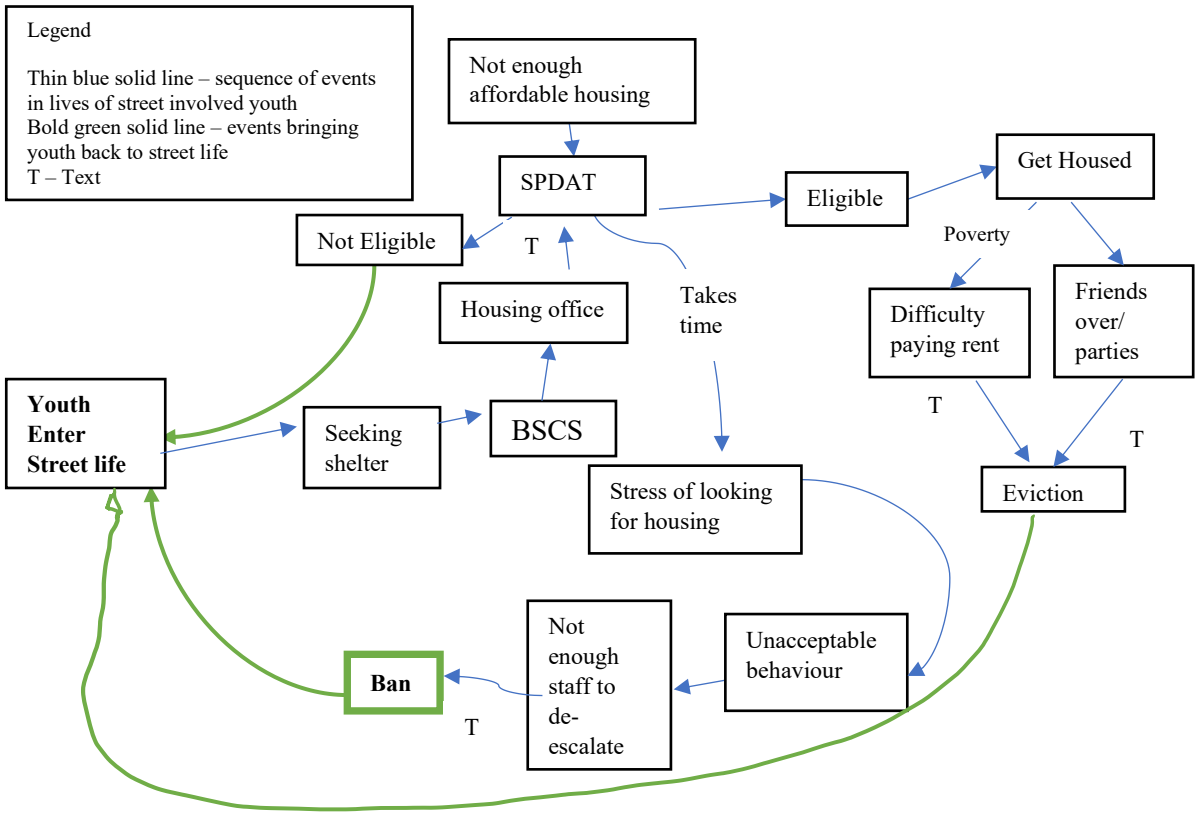

Figure 8.4: Complex process of getting housed

The process of getting housed is very complex and time consuming (see Figure 8.4). As was discussed in detail in Chapter 5, securing housing involves several steps and at each step, activation of texts is needed to move through the process. Examples of these texts include the use of the SPDAT, and the Social Housing Accommodation Regulation used by Capital Region Housing. The results of these assessment tools will determine whether youth are eligible for housing or not. If eligible, youth will get housed, if not, they will continue their work on the streets.

These assessment tools enter youth into a complex, textually mediated work process that is used to determine housing need and prioritize who gets access to social housing. This process was created because there are more people who need to get housed compared to the number of available affordable housing options. For example, a 2018 Homeward Trust report found that in Edmonton, there were approximately 4,500 Social Housing units available in Edmonton while more than 6,000 households were waiting for social housing (Homeward Trust Edmonton, 2018). In the same year, 1941 market rate houses were sitting vacant in Edmonton because they were unaffordable for many families that were in need of housing

(ATB Financial's Economics & Research Team, 2019). This highlights the disparity between social and market level housing that has been created through the financialization of housing. Along with the difficulty in getting housed because of a lack of available housing, youth often face discrimination when it comes to obtaining housing. Landlords are often reticent to offer housing to young people, individuals who have been previously homeless and to people living in poverty (Allan & Smylie, 2015). Indigenous and LGBTQ youth also have more difficulty getting housed (Allan & Smylie, 2015; Sharifi, 2016).

If youth are able to navigate the complex housing process and are successfully housed, the structural barriers they and their parents faced before getting housed are still present. The structural factors of poverty, discrimination and lack of affordable housing units continue to make it difficult for youth to maintain their housing. As Ben stated in Chapter 4, when youth get housed, they often feel very lonely and isolated. Because of this, they will invite friends over, have parties and sometimes damage the property which can cause youth to get evicted. For many youth, eviction happens because the funding they receive through income supports is not enough to maintain their rent payments which leads them to lose their housing and end up back on the street. Eviction is a large problem amongst homeless youth. In a report on understanding issues homeless youth encounter in Toronto, Gaetz (2002) found that over 40% of homeless youth who had previously rented apartments had been evicted. Being evicted for not paying rent was the second most common reason for eviction after parties and noise complaints. It should also be noted that when youth are evicted it is often carried out improperly or the eviction is illegal under the Tenant Protection Act (Gaetz, 2002). Because young people are often not aware of their rights as tenants, they will simply leave when they are told to leave. This was common with the youth in this study. In order to prevent the perpetuation of homelessness due to eviction, young people need to be aware of their rights, but there also needs to be stronger eviction protection for youth that are rehoused. In a report on eviction prevention in Canada Gaetz, Schwan, Redman, French, and Dej (2018, p. 1) recommended the following for eviction prevention:

1) Strengthening Laws and Legislation Protecting Tenants
2) Provision of Information and Advice for Youth and Their Families
3) Provision of Financial Supports for Tenants
4) Access to Legal Supports, Advice, and Representation
5) Targeted and Timely Crisis Intervention.

If these recommendations are implemented, they will help move institutional governance away from serving the ruling class and assist the needs of vulnerable community members that are often not represented in housing legislation.

Commodification/ financialization of housing

In Chapters 5 and 6, I described youth's work and showed how their work is connected to the work of staff and managers at BSCS. The work of staff and managers at times involved activating texts such as the banning policy or zoning bylaws. Enacting these texts carries the ruling relations into the frontlines of practice. Staff and managers must do this because BSCS is accountable to their funders and government organizations that set rules in place for their operation. However, as mentioned in Chapter 7, these rules are created by governments that have moved away from providing robust social safety nets for their citizens by perpetuating a neoliberal agenda that has created the conditions such as lack of affordable housing that lead to homelessness in the first place.

In the previous sections, I have shown how structural factors of poverty, discrimination and lack of affordable housing led to youth becoming homeless and how these factors continue to perpetuate youth homelessness. Showing these connections is an important part of IE and its activist nature. Smith (1996) states that that the first step in overcoming political issues is to make visible the social organization of those politics. She states that our role as activist academics is "provide maps or diagrams of the dynamic of macrosocial powers and processes" (p. 55) that shape the experiences of individuals. The knowledge created for these maps must come from the standpoint of the people we are representing. Making and mapping out the connections between the structural barriers to homelessness and lived experience of youth visible helps us to understand what is actually happening and how it happens. It helps us to understand how these structural factors are influenced by higher level socio-political factors. From a population health perspective, connecting structural barriers to higher level socio-political factors helps us to understand what is causing social and health inequities often referred to as the "causes of the causes" (Marmot, 2005; Rose, 1985). By identifying the socio-political factors that have created the conditions that lead to homelessness, we can gain a better inform policy creation and legislation in order to address health inequities.

The structural barriers related to youth homelessness can be connected to the socio-political ideologies of neoliberalism that have led to the commodification and financialization of housing. The financialization of housing is a consequence of neoliberal policies that have shifted the responsibilities of housing away from government and towards a market-based system that has fewer government regulations and intervention (Aalbers, 2016). The financialization of housing occurs when "housing is treated as a commodity - a vehicle for wealth and investment rather than a social good." (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019, para 8). When this happens it "undermines the realization of housing as a human right" (Human Rights Council, 2017, p. 3). Because of the ideology of homeownership as the goal for most people, there has been a push for middle to low income households to own rather than rent their homes. This is part of seeing housing as an investment rather than as a place to live. In order to bring more individuals into the housing market, mortgage lenders began reducing mortgage rates. This led to more competition in the housing sector which increased housing prices and decreased access to affordable housing (Kalman-Lamb, 2017). At the same time wage increases have not kept up with increase in housing prices. As a result, many lower income households are not able to become homeowners and if they do, it is usually with a very low mortgage rate to start and very little down payment. The high mortgage debt increases their risk of default and foreclosure, thereby increasing risk and perpetuating housing insecurity and homelessness (Kalman-Lamb, 2017).

Financialization not only affects homeowners and household debt, but it is also affecting the rental market. Across the world, financialized investors have been purchasing social housing properties and other rental properties as forms of investments (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019). Social housing is also becoming financialized with social housing associations participating in financial markets (Aalbers, 2016). The financialization of the rental market has also been occurring in cities across Canada, and in some cases, it is as a result of government policies that were put in place to reduce the number of mortgage defaults and foreclosures (Kalman-Lamb, 2017).

In an attempt to decrease the risk of defaulting on mortgages or foreclosures due to the high loan-to-income mortgages in Canada, the federal government implemented a "stress test" for new mortgage borrowers. This test would determine whether households could

maintain their mortgage when interest rates increased (Bank of Canada, 2016). While the "stress test" successfully helped reduce the amount of high loan-to-income mortgages, it may have resulted in unintended consequences related to the financialization of the subsidized rental housing and further increasing income inequality in Canada. In 2019, the monthly publication *Business in Edmonton* reported on the how an increased number of units of the rental market could be an effective investment opportunity. They stated that "A large surplus in inventory and fewer resilient buyers that can pass the mortgage test means now is a good time to invest in rental properties. After-all, what happens to the countless buyers who failed the test? They become renters, and plunging vacancy reflects that" (BIE, 2019, para. 10). In effect, because the rental market is also becoming financialized, investors are taking advantage of the fact that many individuals cannot afford to buy a home and will use that to their advantage in buying up rental properties and eventually increasing rental rates. Along with the fact that rental rates have increased substantially in the last 30 years, wages have not increased at the same pace (Cheung, 2014). For example, the average hourly wage in Canada increased from $21 in 1990 to $28.80 in 2018, an increase of 37% (Government of Canada, 2018b; Morissette et al., 2013). In the same time period, the average rent in Canada increased from $504/ month to $997/month, a 97% increase (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, n.d.). The increase in rental rates along with stagnating wages penalizes the most vulnerable and poorest of the population such as individuals that work for minimum wage or live on AISH or other form of financial assistance (Kalman-Lamb, 2017).

Financialization of housing in Canada has legitimated unequal wealth distribution. As financialization has continued in the last few decades, the income gap between homeowners and renters has increased with the top 60% wage earners seeing an increase in net worth while the bottom 5% saw a decrease. When housing is commodified, the purpose of housing as a determinant of health is not considered and we lose sight of people and their well being. This happens because the needs of global investors are prioritized over the needs of communities, their residents and their health (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019). Because the housing sector is accountable to those investors, the commodification of housing has led to the creation of housing policies that are more favorable to central banks and international financial institutions than to communities. Housing then becomes a means to an end to help the wealthy become wealthier on the backs

of those already experiencing poverty, thereby increasing health and social inequity. For example, wealth gaps increase as the wealthy make money off of housing investments while individuals experiencing poverty take on more debt in order to afford a home (Kalman-Lamb, 2017). As a result of neoliberal policies that have influenced the commodification of housing, several determinants of health such as income and access to affordable housing are influenced and connected to why youth experience homelessness. For example, when youth in this project attempted to find housing, they were required to go through the complex SPDAT process that determines whether an individual is eligible for housing. The main reason this prioritization tool exists is not because of a lack of available units, but because the financialization of housing has led to a lack of affordable housing units.

Legacy of colonialism on Indigenous homelessness

In addition to the effects of neoliberalism and financialization on affordable housing and poverty, we cannot forget the legacy of settler colonialism and residential schools when discussing homelessness in Canada. Indigenous peoples are disproportionally represented in the homeless population and this is no different with youth homelessness (Thistle, 2017). The social determinants of poverty and unaffordable housing are more pronounced in Indigenous populations that are living with the legacy of colonialism and residential schools. The National Household Survey in 2011 found that 38% of Indigenous children were living in poverty, compared to 7% of non-Indigenous children (Government of Canada, 2018a). Because of this, Indigenous families have a harder time maintaining housing and therefore an increased risk of their children entering the child welfare system. As stated earlier, approximately 52% of children in foster care are Indigenous, even though Indigenous children account for only 7.7% of the child population (Government of Canada, 2018a). In addition, Indigenous peoples face the added stress of racism when trying to access housing (Allan & Smylie, 2015) and they have also lost connections to spiritual and cultural supports of Indigenous Peoples (Government of Alberta, 2019b).

The loss of connection to land and the separation of Indigenous children from their families is also part of the legacy of settler colonialism that was and continues to be enacted through the Indian Act in Canada. The forced assimilation and acculturation of Indigenous peoples has led to an internalized racism where Indigenous youth begin to believe the stereotypes and ideologies of dominant western culture (Absolon, 2010; Amadahy &

Lawrence, 2009). This internalized racism can help explain the struggles Vicki-Lynn, who was raised by a white family, had between identifying as an Indigenous woman and rejecting her Indigenous heritage. The continued separation of Indigenous youth from their families and from Indigenous lands, worldviews and communities has perpetuated the cultural genocide that Indigenous Peoples have endured for centuries.

Indigenous youth transitioning out of care are also at an increased risk of entering the criminal justice system. The over representation of Indigenous youth in the Canadian criminal justice system has been well documented (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Roberts & Reid, 2017). In fact, the numbers of Indigenous youth admitted into correctional services has grown over time. Malakieh (2019) noted the proportion of Indigenous youth admitted into correctional services in the 2017/2018 reporting year rose to 43% from 26% in 2007/2008. Along with discrimination related to obtaining housing and accessing shelter, Indigenous youth also face racially discriminatory policing that, as the youth in this study have identified, results in them being targeted by the police (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, once in the criminal justice system, youth do not have access to the necessary supports to help them secure housing once they are released. This lack of support coupled with lack of Indigenous cultural and spiritual supports for Indigenous youth makes it more difficult for Indigenous youth leaving the criminal justice system. The unique challenges that Indigenous youth face as they transition out of care and/ or the criminal justice system has led to an over representation of Indigenous youth experiencing homelessness (Thistle, 2017).

Connecting neoliberalism, financialization of housing and colonialism to youth experiences of banning

Colonialism, neoliberalism and the commodification of housing can be connected to the structural barriers that lead to homelessness and also to banning practices (see figure 8.1). As identified earlier in this chapter, texts like the banning policy enacted by staff at BSCS can perpetuate an agenda of social control and social order. Under the banning policy, youth are banned by staff when they act in ways that "undermine safety and peaceful enjoyment" of others. They are also banned by Edmonton Police Officers if the police deem their behaviours unacceptable. As stated in Chapter 7, acceptable behaviour often falls under a western ideal of behaviour which is often dictated by a neoliberal ruling class (Schneider et

al., 2010). Along with affecting policies, these socio-political factors also create the conditions that lead to the "taken-for-granted' practices of banning that youth encounter. The daily stresses that youth encounter due to policing and housing issues for example, affect their behaviour as presented in the examples of trying to sleep at BSCS in Chapter 7. Therefore, rather than this behaviour and the resulting ban being a "taken-for-granted" behaviour that seems to be a normal part of life for youth experiencing homelessness, it happens as a result of higher-level socio-political policies that have created rules on where individuals are allowed to sleep. This rule meant to create social control as a result has created the conditions that lead to banning.

On the street, youth encounter other stresses as they navigate the streets and the system. The allure of gangs is tempting for youth looking for community but also can be dangerous and stressful. Discriminatory police practices that tend to target homeless and Indigenous youth and the use of agent status make being on the street difficult and stressful. Difficulties finding safe spaces to sleep and being turned away from shelters because of abstinence policies that do not allow youth who use drugs and/or alcohol increases their stress levels. All these experiences that are coordinated by neoliberal policies of social control and discrimination due to the legacy of settler colonialism cause them stress which can lead to them acting out when they go to BSCS or other shelters.

While neoliberalism creates the stresses that cause youth to lash out at staff, it also affects banning by creating rules that enforce the behaviours of those that do not fall under the norm or veer away from "acceptable" behaviours that are expected by the ruling class (Coleman, 2004; Wacquant, 2009). Banning happens because agencies are forced to enact texts such as the BSCS banning policy that enforce neoliberal ideologies of social control. As was identified in Chapter 7, there is a disjuncture at organizations like BSCS because they are stuck between wanting to do what is right for the community and those that do not follow the rules of the dominant class and needing to comply to the rules of the ruling class and neoliberal governments to whom they are accountable in order to obtain funding. Banning can also happen because government austerity measures have reduced funding to many homeless serving organizations. Under neoliberalism, funding in the social services has moved away from government and more toward the charitable sector (Harvey, 2007; Springer et al., 2016). This results in agencies that serve the homeless to constantly compete

for money to operate. Cuts to funding can also lead to reductions in staff. Because of low staff numbers, there are not enough staff to deescalte a situation so then it leads to banning of youth exhibiting escalated behaviours.

Turning youth away or banning them from shelters for using drugs and alcohol can also be tied to the neoliberal state's need to maintain social order and to penalize youth deemed morally deviant (Wacquant, 2009). Under the individualistic nature of neoliberalism, suffering from drug and/or alcohol addiction is considered a failure of the individual. As a way to maintain social control and keep them away from those that have not "failed", these individuals then need to be corrected or penalized. Being under the influence of drugs and alcohol is not an acceptable behaviour.

Banning of youth at BSCS and other shelters can be connected to the financialization of housing that has occurred under neoliberalism. Because of financialization of housing, there are fewer available housing units, which has led to competition for housing and a point system such as the SPDAT is needed to determine who will get housed. As was noted in Chapter 6, the process of finding housing is complex and frustrating textually mediated practice that can add to youth's stress which may lead to them acting in ways that get them banned. The ban can then decrease their access to much needed resources (Bloomfield et al., 2017), exacerbating a vicious cycle for the youth. This shows how the process of finding housing and the lack of affordable housing options can create the conditions that leads to youth being banned and perpetuating homelessness.

Concluding thoughts

In this chapter, I have explored how ideologies and policies that stem from neoliberalism and a legacy of settler colonialism are connected to and have created the conditions that can lead to youth homelessness. I have also shown how these policies and ideologies continue to perpetuate youth homelessness by creating the conditions that cause youth stress and ultimately lead to them being banned from emergency shelters and/or drop-in centres like BSCS. There have been many attempts in Edmonton and other municipalities around Canada to reduce the numbers of youth and others experiencing homelessness. However, most of these initiatives focus on addressing getting people off the streets and getting housed. While rehousing is essential to reducing the numbers of homeless individuals, it does not address the root causes of homelessness, which are income inequity,

poverty and lack of affordable homes. Aykanian and Lee (2016) have stated that most anti-homeless initiatives and polices are “more concerned with perceptions of what homelessness causes, rather than what causes homelessness” (p. 183).

Chapter 9: Summary, recommendations and next steps

Summary of dissertation

This dissertation research began as an exploration of the experiences of street involved and homeless youth during a major urban revitalization project in downtown Edmonton. I used Institutional Ethnography as a method of inquiry which allowed me to explore how youth's lives were organized from their standpoint. While several methods of data generation were used, Photovoice proved to be a useful method of obtaining entry-level data from the youth standpoint and was also useful in engaging youth participants. The IE inquiry led me to further explicate how youth's lives are coordinated by higher level socio-political factors such as colonialism and neoliberalism. In Chapters 5-6, I focused on the work of youth both on the streets and at BSCS. Exploring youth work uncovered several issues youth face daily that perpetuate youth homelessness. A central issue that was explored in detail in Chapter 7 was youth banning as it was a phenomenon that youth spoke about regularly as a normal part of living on the street. Doing an IE helped identify that the issues youth face, included banning, are caused by structural barriers such as poverty, discrimination and lack of affordable housing.

This research contributes to the body of literature on youth homelessness by identifying textually mediated practices that connect structural barriers to homelessness to specific youth experiences. The analytic maps created in this research go beyond a theoretical connection of structural barriers to homelessness by showing how specific youth experiences are coordinated by these barriers and identifies where systems failures occur. By creating the analytic map, it is possible to identify where interventions can occur in order to reduce and prevent youth homelessness in the future. Connecting youth banning to neoliberal and settler colonial ideologies adds to the literature on banning by showing that banning occurs, not necessarily to keep people safe, but to perpetuate the neoliberal ideals of social order and social control. This can offer a new perspective on why banning happens which can impact how banning policies are created and implemented. Identifying where systemic failures occur and how these failures have created the conditions that lead to banning can help policy makers aware of the gaps in the system. Understanding that the complex SPDAT process creates stress for youth can help staff at BSCS identify one area that is causing youth stress and make changes to how banning policy is implemented with youth. Another example is

identifying the gap in eviction prevention policies. Evictions due to an inability to pay rent are a common cause of homelessness. It is imperative to create policies that address eviction prevention as forced evictions are a violation of international human rights law. This research can be used by both community agencies and other researchers as a tool to understand where interventions need to occur in order to break the cycle of homelessness. Similar to the work done by Pence (2001) in using IE to develop a domestic abuse intervention model, this research can be used to develop interventions to prevent youth homelessness. Specific examples of how I am working with BSCS to identify areas of intervention will be discussed later in this chapter.

Recommendations for policy and practice

Based on the experiences of youth and youth workers in this study and best practices identified in the literature (Gaetz & Dej, 2017; Gaetz, Schwan, Redman, French, & Dej, 2018b; Mackie, Thomas, & Bibbings, 2017; Thistle, 2017), the following recommendations are made:

1. In order to understand the needs of youth, we must gain the trust of youth and agencies that serve youth and ensure that youth voices are heard. In this study, I employed Community Based Participatory Research practices in order to gain trust of the youth, staff and managers at BSCS. This allowed me valuable access to the informants and to institutional policies. I also employed Photovoice as participatory practice to engage youth. The Photovoice process was very effective in allowing the youth participants to share their stories and have their voices heard by City of Edmonton staff and the general public. The importance of engaging youth for the purposes of policy making has been documented in many research studies (c.f., Ferguson, Kim, & McCoy, 2011; Suleiman, Soleimanpour, & London, 2006; Wallerstein, 2002; Wilson et al., 2007). Youth engagement is also a key strategy for the Government of Alberta's Plan to Prevent and Reduce Youth Homelessness (Government of Alberta, 2015). The strategy states:

> Under the Youth Plan, youth will have the opportunity to influence, shape and refine its implementation. They will be key drivers of policy and program improvements, which will be paramount to the Youth Plan's success. (p. 33)

While the Youth Plan identifies the importance of youth engagement, it does not include specific directions of how to engage youth. This lack of direction can make it difficult for meaningful or ongoing engagement to occur. A lack of meaningful engagement can lead to token engagement where youth are invited to share their views, but their concerns and recommendations are trivialized and not given serious consideration thereby further alienating youth (Hart, 1992; O'Donoghue et al., 2002). If we are to effectively change policy to improve the lives of youth, we must continue to engage youth in a meaningful way in the development of policy.

2. The structural barrier of poverty was shown to be a key contributor to homelessness in this study. Gaetz et al. (2018) recommend that poverty reduction must be included in any strategy for reducing homelessness. Ensuring a living wage that allows an individual to cover the costs of housing, food and basic needs is one step towards poverty reduction (Wills, 2017). The current minimum wage in Alberta is $15/hour. A recent report noted that, in Edmonton, one would have to work a minimum of 53 hours/week at minimum wage in order to afford an average one-bedroom apartment. Therefore, even though Alberta's minimum wage is the highest in Canada (Retail Council of Canada, 2019), it is far from a living wage. The recent legislative changes in Alberta to minimum wages for minors from $15/hour to $13/hour have moved away from assisting poverty reduction among youth. While not enough to be considered a living wage, it is recommended that youth wages move back to $15/hour at a minimum to support youth living in poverty who must work to support their families.

   Along with ensuring a minimum wage, the poverty reduction strategies recommended by Gaetz et al. (2018) include: ensuring permanent-secure employment, increases to social assistance, and a progressive taxation implementation that would support individuals with low income; free access to mental health services; and universal coverage of prescription drugs.

3. Many youth who become homeless enter the criminal justice system and when they are released from correctional institutions, they are not given any supports for housing and other issues related to transitioning out of the system. To better serve youth, it is suggested Gaetz et al. (2018) to have better coordination between sectors such as

correction, health and housing so that youth are able to transition into a stable environment once out of the criminal justice system. This would reduce the risk of youth joining a gang or becoming homeless again. The sectors must work together to develop plans for helping youth transition out of the criminal justice system successfully. For example, a plan to assist youth transitioning out of a correction centre could use a Duty to Assist approach (detailed in point 7 below) where all sectors have a duty to coordinate together in order to prevent youth homelessness.

4. Because evictions are common among youth who were previously homeless, it is essential to have stronger eviction prevention when youth are housed. Evictions are legislated under the provincial landlord/tenant legislations and there are regulations that govern when and how a person can be evicted. Unfortunately, many youth are not aware of these regulations or their rights. They are also often unaware of supports that can be available to them when facing the risk of eviction. Because of this, youth are often evicted without due process. Gaetz et al. (2018) recommend youth be educated on their tenant rights so they are not as easily evicted. There also must be greater advocacy on eviction prevention and tenant rights from the agencies that work to support youth once they are housed. Youth should also have access to legal supports that can assist youth facing imminent evictions. Gaetz et al. also recommend strengthening laws and legislation to protect the rights of tenants and to hold landlords accountable if they engage in abusive or discriminatory behaviours towards tenants. It is essential to work with homelessness serving organizations such as BSCS to identify and develop tools to prevent evictions of youth at risk of homelessness. Focusing on eviction prevention can be an effective tool in breaking the cycle of homelessness and providing housing stabilization for youth.
5. While there are many factors that lead to banning, this study identified that banning happens because there are not enough staff members in agencies like BSCS to deescalate youth when they are behaving violently or aggressively towards other community members and/or staff. For example, staff and management noted that these behaviours often occur in the drop-in centre during extended Winter Emergency Response hours. During the WER hours, the drop-in is funded for a maximum of 8 staff members yet during very cold evenings there can be approximately 200

individuals in the centre (Parker, interview, 2018). This makes it very difficult for staff to de-escalate behaviours in what can be a very stressful environment. The other issue with the WER funding is that it is not consistent from year to year and is dependent of availability of funds supplied by Homeward Trust, therefore agencies that deliver WER services cannot provide consistent services from year to year. For example, because of a funding shortfall in 2017, BSCS was initially not able to fund their winter warming bus that travels across the city to assist homeless individuals in the winter months (Hampshire, 2017). Fortunately, the bus was eventually able to run because of a philanthropic donation to BSCS. However, this is not a sustainable way of funding essential resources for individuals experiencing homelessness. Homeless serving agencies must receive more funding and funding from sustainable sources in order to staff their centres properly. With more staff, these agencies can also focus on de-escalating situations and reduce the use of banning as a means of social control.

6. Given that Indigenous youth are over-represented in the homeless community and are disproportionately impacted by the socio-political forces leading to homelessness (Allan & Smylie, 2015), it is essential to understand the specific needs of Indigenous youth who experience homelessness. Indigenous homelessness goes beyond lack of shelter and includes loss of connection to community, land, and culture (Thistle, 2017). The Principles of Reconciliation from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) state that "the perspectives and understandings of Aboriginal Elders and Traditional Knowledge Keepers of the ethics, concepts, and practices of reconciliation are vital to long-term reconciliation." (p. 4). Therefore, any policy and intervention that addresses homelessness with Indigenous youth must include consultation with and engagement of Elders, knowledge keepers and other members of Indigenous communities so as not to perpetuate colonial practices in new policy and interventions. This can be done by inviting Elders to policy meetings and incorporating Indigenous ceremony in all processes (Gray et al., 2018).
7. Finally, in order to ensure that youth homelessness is reduced and ultimately prevented, a human rights-based approach to housing must be practiced. Gaetz et al. (2018) recommend adopting a Duty to Assist concept that has successfully reduced rates of homelessness in Wales (Mackie et al., 2017). Adopting a Duty to Assist

approach means that there is a "statutory obligation, or a ***legal duty***, requiring that local authorities make reasonable efforts to end the person's homelessness or stabilize their housing" (Gaetz et al., 2018, p. 128). This approach would ensure that a human rights-based approach to housing is legislated. It also establishes that municipal governments would have a duty to coordinate with not-profit and voluntary organizations as well as other public authorities to ensure youth who are at high risk of becoming homeless are given all the tools necessary to prevent them from becoming homeless. Duty to Assist would also legislate a systems approach to prevention where multiple sectors such as housing, health, social services, criminal justice and education work together to prevent youth homelessness (Gaetz & Dej, 2017). For example, the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness and A Way Home Canada have developed a Duty to Assist demonstration project in Hamilton, ON where schools, child protective services and other agencies work together to prevent youth homelessness. Educators are being trained to identify children at risk of becoming homeless. They then use an online tool that was developed for this project that helps map out the processes they need to follow and the people from other agencies they need to contact to assist the child who is in need (A Way Home Canada, 2019).

For Duty to Assist and a rights-based approach to housing to be successful, there must be buy in from all levels of government. This is not yet the case. In June 21, 2019, the Government of Canada passed the National Housing Strategy Act which legislated that housing be recognized as a human right (Parliament of Canada, 2019; *Government Bill (House of Commons) C-97 (42-1)*, 2019). Legislation must now move through provincial and municipal governments. The Alberta government must move to pass and enforce Duty to Assist legislation and municipal governments across Alberta must use a rights-based approach to policy and decision-making regarding housing.

Suggestions for research

This research revealed the connections between the lived experience of youth experiencing homelessness and the neoliberal and colonial ideologies which organize their lives. While suggestions for interventions such as eviction protection and policy changes

such as Duty to Assist have been made, more research needs to be done on implementation the of interventions such as the Duty to Assist demonstration project in Hamilton, ON. Researchers can inform communities and policy makers on recommended changes to practice and policy. Researchers can work in concert with communities to track the changes to policy and practice in order to understand what can lead to positive change and prevention of homelessness in the future.

As with the recommendation to engage youth in development of policy, youth must also be engaged in the research process. Community Based Participatory Research methods like Photovoice should be considered as a means of engaging youth. Not only is the Photovoice process effective at connecting youth participants with community, but I found that it was essential for engaging with youth in the initial stages of my research. Many youth that I had gotten to know were reluctant to join the study but as soon as cameras were introduced, they were excited and wanted to participate. This experience contrasts the experiences of other researchers in the past. For example, when working with Aboriginal youth in Australia, Larson, Mitchell, and Gilles (2001) found that the youth were reluctant to participate in a Photovoice project. It may be that in the age of Instagram, cameras and photographs are ubiquitous in the lives of youth so telling stories using images is not intimidating in current times or it may be that the specific population in work by Larson et al. did not like using cameras. Therefore, it is important that researchers use participatory methods that align with the interests and needs of the community involved. In the case of this study, I found the Photovoice process was important for engaging youth and understanding youth's experiences through their standpoint. I was able to see places and things that I never would otherwise. Because we shared the pictures together, I gained a different perspective of places I know and things I see all the time.

Along with engaging youth during data generation, working with youth and using arts-based methods for knowledge mobilization are important aspects of engagement. My experience using arts-based media with youth echoes the experiences of others (Cameron et al., 2011; Didkowsky et al., 2010). Using arts-based media can be more effective than other means of communication, especially with youth (Kidd, 2009). Creating and sharing art humanizes youth and makes them real, rather than a statistic or someone to be avoided while walking down the street. Art is important in helping increase our critical social

consciousness. Kidd writes “[a]rtworks can be a particularly powerful force motivating us to seek to learn from and work with others who are different from us to work towards a more pluralistic society” (9, p 135). It offers youth an opportunity to communicate in 'more than words', which may be particularly attractive to those who may struggle to find the right words to share their experiences, or for whom dialogue increases their sense of vulnerability.

In working with hundreds of homeless youth using arts-based research methods, Kidd (2009) has found that many youth saw their art as a way to cross a divide from their world to those of others. “Creation can be transformative both for homeless young people and the viewers/readers of their work, and it can provide a vehicle for the connection and understanding that can bypass racist, bigoted, and otherwise ignorant ideas” (Kidd, 2009, p. 359).

This project has shown how arts-based methods such as Photovoice can be a valuable tool to engage youth and connect them with community members and policy makers, echoing the results of previous research (Bellino, 2015; Nykiforuk et al., 2011; Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004; Wang, 2006; Wilson et al., 2007). For future policy development, researchers and policy makers are strongly encouraged to consider this method with youth as one mechanism to bring their voices and perspectives to the forefront of the important issues that impact their lives.

Limitations

While this study explored connections between the lived experiences of homeless youth and higher-level socio-political ideologies, there were some limitations. The data represents a small group of youth that accessed services from one specific agency at one point in time. While IE does not need large numbers of participants as its aim is to identify typical experiences, the youth represented in this study are from Caucasian and Indigenous communities. There are many other youth from Black communities, including the Somali communities, that were not part of the study because they tend not to access services at BSCS. While there may be similar barriers and stresses between these groups, we cannot assume that the typical experiences of the youth from this study represent typical experiences of youth from other marginalized communities. Also, although LGBTQ youth access services at this shelter, no youth representing the LGBTQ communities participated in the study and therefore their stories were not represented. Further research would reveal the

barriers to housing that Black and LGBTQ2+ youth face in Edmonton and how those barriers are coordinated by higher socio-political ideologies.

Future steps

In Chapter 1 of this dissertation, I stated that I would identify connections between youth experiences and systemic issues that perpetuate homelessness and share them with management of BSCS and other homeless serving agencies in Edmonton that are interested in this work. I am currently working with staff and managers at BSCS to understand how this work can help inform policy development at their organization. We are also using the analytic map developed through this study as a tool to identify areas where BSCS can develop interventions. For example, a manager has identified the gap in support for youth who are incarcerated as an area where BSCS can develop interventions to assist youth. I am also working on disseminating the findings of this research to academic and community audiences. Knowledge mobilization to researchers, community, policy makers and other youth is essential to creating change. The findings from this work can be used to understand the gaps in the system and to advocate for changes. While I will be working on writing papers for peer reviewed journals, presenting at academic conferences, and writing community reports, I will also be working on using arts-based methods of dissemination. As stated in the previous section, arts-based methods can reach wider audiences and can be more meaningful for youth participants. I have met with a local graphic artist to help turn the findings into a graphic novel, which is intended to reach youth audiences. I am also investigating the potential of developing a short film based on these findings, which would help disseminate the findings to a wider audience through social media venues such as YouTube and Instagram. For both these projects, I will invite staff and youth at BSCS as co-creators.

The work on this project has opened many doors to grow my research program. I am currently a collaborator on a successful $20,000 MacEwan Strategic Research Grant. As part of this grant, we will be working on developing an Affordable Housing Innovation lab that will bring together housing developers, policy makers and individuals with lived experience to develop innovative solutions to the affordable housing crisis in Edmonton. I am also working on a new community-based project entitled “Decolonizing Transitions Out of Care for Indigenous Youth” where myself and colleagues from Social Work and Anthropology at

MacEwan University will be working with a community agency to understand the needs of Indigenous youth transitioning out of the child welfare system with the intent to develop permanent supportive housing initiatives for these youth. I have also connected with a successful federally funded Networks of Centres of Excellence application that was awarded in December 2018. This grant is funding the Making the Shift – Youth Homelessness Social Innovation Lab, with the goal of transforming how we respond to youth homelessness in Canada. Through this program, I have connected with other researchers across Canada that are exploring the needs of Indigenous youth transitioning out of care. We have been invited to submit a joint proposal through the Making the Shift program in the spring of 2020.

Concluding Thoughts

In order to create change, we need to bring into focus the fact that homelessness will not decrease if we do not address the systemic inequalities that have been created by the ruling class. We need to identify colonial practices that continue to remove Indigenous children from their families and find ways to keep families together. There needs to be a move away from viewing poverty, addiction and homelessness as a failure of the individual and understand that it is the neoliberal state through its focus on a free market society and away from a collectivist social state that has created the conditions that lead to poverty, addiction and homelessness. Finally, if the commodification of housing as one of the causes of structural barriers to homelessness is not addressed, we will continue to see the number of youth experiencing homelessness rise. Financialization serves the market not people. If we continue with prioritizing market economy in housing rather than treat housing as a human right we will continue to increase inequites that have been created by the neoliberal market economy. Just as we have successfully done with health care in Canada, we must move towards treating housing as a human right rather than a priviledge in order to curb the crisis of homelessness in Canada.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Institutional Ethnography Terms

Taken from Bisaillon, L. (2012). An Analytic Glossary to Social Inquiry Using Institutional and Political Activist Ethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *11*(5), 607–627.

Term	Definition
Discourse	This is a "systematic way of knowing something that is grounded in expert knowledge and that circulates widely in society through language, including most importantly language vested in texts" (Mykhalovskiy, 2002, p. 39). Discourses are socially organized activities that circulate among people and through institutions. We all participate in discourse, and through our actions, discourses are brought into being. Looking at how people participate in discourse, how they talk about what they do, what texts they circulate, and what is reproduced in people's labour, is of the utmost analytic interest in institutional and political activist ethnography. Discourses "come to stand over [and] against [people], overpowering their lives" (D. Smith, 2005, p. 41). This point makes discourses important activities to investigate and understand. Consistent with philosopher Michel Foucault's (1972, 1980, 1981; see also Rabinow, 2010) use of discourse, institutional and political activist ethnography centers on uncovering asymmetries of social power within social practices of language, and on exposing the effects these have on people. Different from Foucault's conception of discourse is the way that these companion ethnographies conceive of discourse originating in, and existing only because of, people's participation in textually mediated social relations in particular ways and at particular times.
Disjuncture	This refers to disconnections between people's experience and knowledge of the world and the official or authoritative representations of these. Sociologist George Smith (1990) assigns the geographical metaphor "line of fault" to this place of epistemological rupture that is a contested space between the inside and the outside of the "objective, bureaucratic domain of a politico- administrative régime" (p. 631). This metaphor usefully calls attention to differences in social locations that people occupy. George Smith maintains that the usefulness of uncovering how things are socially organized is the promise of identifying effective places to intervene, to challenge and transform ruling relations. A disjuncture, dissonance, "split" (D. Smith, 1990, p. 4), or rupture in consciousness commonly provides the analytic impetus and starting point for an institutional and political activist

Term	Definition
	ethnography.
Empirical Approach	This is an approach to investigating how the world works from a starting point within the material and concrete circumstances of people's lives. This includes their observations about their day-to- day activities and the thinking resources they employ to carry out these activities. The lens offered by institutional and political ethnography focuses analytic attention on empirically investigable features of people's lives. Therefore, this is not, and should not be confused with, empiricism. Research produced using these approaches offers empirically informed arguments and analyses.
Everyday	This word is frequently and recurrently used in research using institutional and political activist ethnography as a rhetorical device to underscore analytic focus on the ongoing, meaningful effort that people engage in to carry out their lives. Language used to generate the same emphasis includes daily, day-to-day, quotidian, and "everyday/everynight worlds" (D. Smith, 2002, p. 42).
Explicate	This term signifies clarifying the functioning of something that is hard to reach and obscure. In institutional and political activist ethnography, explication involves producing analytic descriptions of how things are socially organized to occur. Through this process of explication, implicit features of social organization are brought into focus for investigation, and new and explicit forms of knowledge are generated. Exploration and explication of social relations is the goal of an institutional ethnography (see Campbell & Gregor, 2004, pp. 8 & 86).
Extra-Local Informant	This term refers to research participants who typically inform a project in a second phase of fieldwork and beyond (Bisaillon & Rankin, in press). The term is connected to, and juxtaposed with, *standpoint informant*; the latter informs a project's standpoint and typically the earliest phases of data collection. In adopting this language, a key understanding is that informants are located at different places within knowledge and ruling relations. Trans-local informant can be used synonymously to communicate the same idea.
Ideology	This is a form of knowledge that is uprooted and ungrounded from the social circumstances in which it is produced. This application "is not to be confused with its politically oriented English cognate. [I]t is simply an idea-system" (Bakhtin, 1975/1981, p. 429). Critique of people's ideological practices is a key constituent in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels's (1846/1970) analysis of social relations, and is also a key research practice in projects drawing from institutional and political activist ethnography.

Term	Definition
Interrogation, Inquiry, or Investigation	These terms are often used interchangeably to refer to a research process and set of investigative practices that illuminate how the social world is organized. The researcher adopts practices that identify features of social organization that are not readily visible, and in doing this, exposes and describes how ruling relations function. This orientation to research makes the researcher's assignment (and challenge) comparable to detective work. In this way, these terms are deployed purposefully and for rhetorical value, calling attention to the subversive, and challenging the status quo.
Institutions	These are processes that stretch across time and place to coordinate people's activities. They identify "*complexes* [emphasis added] embedded in the ruling relations that are organized around a distinctive function such as education or health care" (D. Smith, 2005, p. 225). Examples of other functions include immigration, incarceration, humanitarian work, and community organizing. In this application, institutions do not refer to a singular institutional place such as prisons, asylums, hospitals, or factories—as per the work of several generations of sociologists including Erving Goffman, Howard Becker, Herbert Gans, Robert Castel, and René Lourau—or research on these. "The institutional is to be discovered in motion" (D. Smith, 2005, 225).
Lived Experience	This term is used to purposefully locate and emphasize "those interchanges of awareness, recognition, feeling, noticing, and learning going on between body and the world that are prior to and provide sources for experience as it is evoked in dialogue" (D. Smith, 2006, p. 224). This concept is understood and used in similar ways in anthropology (see Finkler, 2007).
Local	This term refers to the circumstances of the immediate and interactional settings where people live, work, and research. Analytic focus is on understanding how what occurs in our immediate and interactional environments is connected with and shaped by what happens elsewhere. In institutional and political activist ethnography, it is understood that there are empirically traceable connections between what happens here and what happens in extra- or trans-local places there. The connections between these are not necessarily obvious or apparent to us, which is why they are objects of critical social inquiry. Learning about and explicating these connections is the analytic aim of projects drawing from institutional and political activist ethnography.
Mapping Metaphor	The exercise of explicating social relations, which is the aim of institutional and political activist ethnography, has been likened to cartography, where findings are schematically presented in

Term	Definition
	textual or diagram form for the reader to interpret and use (see D. Smith, 1990, 1999). Beyond this analytic technique, the mapmaking, and sometimes x-ray, metaphor is commonly mobilized to explain the objectives of these approaches. The deployment of this metaphor as a rhetorical device is explicit in the title of Marie Campbell and Francis Gregor's (2004) *Mapping Social Relations*. This resource is a practical guidebook that provides direction for carrying out an institutional ethnographic project.
Problematic	This is a methodological term that embodies and points to problems, tensions, and contradictions that arise in the relations between people and how society is organized. This term provides an organizing frame and gives direction to projects that start from within the activities and relevancies of standpoint informants. In this application, problematic is different from a research problem as it is commonly understood in scientific research, and this is because it is only after the researcher is immersed in the field, and has talked with people, that the problematic necessary for investigation crystallizes. A problematic in this usage is grounded in social experiences that people encounter as troubling or difficult. Here, a research problematic "organizes inquiry into the social relations lying 'in back of' the everyday worlds in which people's experience is embedded" (D. Smith, 1981, p. 23).
Social	Social is defined as people's ongoing actions as these happen in coordination with the activities of others in "across-time-and-place conversations" (D. Smith, 1996, p. 46). Social organization and relations produce the social, and learning about and critically investigating the lineaments of how these work is the focus of institutional and political activist ethnographic work.
Social Organization	This is a key organizing term in institutional and political activist ethnography. The interaction of social relations is central to social organization, which builds from the assumption that people's lives are socially organized to happen as they do. The material and reflexive coordination of people's actions, as observable and reproduced across time and place, constitutes the social organization of people's experience.
Standpoint Politic	This refers to the politics embedded in, and the explicit aim of, projects drawing from institutional and political activist ethnography (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013). In these ethnographies, researchers are intent on creating "knowledge from [people's] standpoint that provides maps or diagrams of the dynamic of macrosocial powers and processes that shapes their/our lives" (D. Smith, 1996, p. 55).

Term	Definition
Taken-for-Granted	This term, commonly used in published research drawing from institutional ethnography, and used similarly in ethnomethodology as the *natural attitude* (Garfinkel, 1967), points analytic and rhetoric attention to features of the social world that might otherwise go unexamined. These features become the loci of inquiry in institutional and political activist ethnography. People's everyday, routine, and seemingly mundane practices are explored for what they reveal about the social relations that permeate, organize, and connect people who are at a distance from one another. The idea is that making explicit the subtle or commonly unacknowledged features of how society works opens opportunities to redress inequalities, inequities, and injustices. The use of this expression comes from feminist scholarship that has generated an understanding of women's domestic labour as valid and productive forms of work, despite that this work was historically not accounted for or framed as work (DeVault, 1991).

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Appendix B: Youth Information Letter

Project Title:
Voices from the Street: Stories of Vulnerable Youth in the Shadow of Urban Development

Researcher:
Cynthia Puddu, Assistant Professor, Physical Education, MacEwan University; PhD Candidate, School of Public Health, University of Alberta
Candace Nykiforuk, Associate Professor, School of Public Health, University of Alberta

Purpose of the Research:
- The purpose of this research is to collect the stories of vulnerable youth during the redevelopment of downtown Edmonton
- It will create a space for you to tell stories of lives and share it with other community members.
- This process will help give you a voice in the community and be active in the change occurring in downtown Edmonton.

Procedures:
- There will be about 6 – 20 people involved in this study.
- We will collect your stories using different methods including interviews, photography, video and/or other visual methods.
- All interviews and meetings will be at Boyle Street Community Services and will last about 60 minutes.
- We may need to meet with you for more interviews and for group meetings after the first interview.
- The interviews and group meetings will be audio recorded and the audio will be written out.
- We will review the recordings of group meetings together to see if there are common ideas and themes.
- We will be asking you to take pictures and possibly to take video of what your day is like.
- If you would like to choose another way to tell your story like art or music, you can do that.
- We will look at your artwork, video and pictures or listen to your songs together and ask you to share your thoughts and ideas about them.
- Please feel free to ask any questions about this study and your role as a participant.

Possible Risks and Benefits
Possible benefits of you participating include:
- having a positive influence in your community;
- providing information about how the new downtown development is affecting you;
- having the chance to share your views of your community; and
- having the opportunity to work with other members of your community.

Topics covered in interviews may cause you to become upset and other people may be able to identify you by what you have said. Other than this, no other risks will be involved. If at any point in time during this study you feel any emotional distress or anxiety, we will contact a youth or social worker right away to help you.

Confidentiality
- The discussions will be recorded if you and other participants agree.
- The information that you provide will be kept confidential.
- You cannot share anything discussed at group meetings outside of the meetings.
- Your name will never be reported in the presentation of the results unless you tell us you would like it to be.
- Your name will never be reported with any of your video or photographs or the information you provide, unless you tell us you would like it to be.
- Your name will not appear in any reports unless you tell us you would like it to be.

- Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and all identifying information will be removed from our report unless you would like to be identified. Only the investigators will know and have access to the connection between real names and pseudonyms.
- This information will be kept in a locked file cabinet and/or a password protected encrypted file. All physical data will be stored in a locked file cabinet at MacEwan University.
- Electronic data will be stored in password protected encrypted files on a password protected computer. . All data will be stored for at least 5 years.
- If you engage in any of the illegal activity described to you, the researcher will have to report it to Jella Van Ens who will determine whether to report it to other appropriate authorities.

Because the participants for this research project have been picked from a small group of people that may know each other, it is possible that other people may be able to identify you based on what you have said. We will do our best keep your information anonymous and confidential but we cannot guarantee it.

Use of Data

- With your permission, the photographs and summaries will be presented in reports and presentations.
- These will be available for community members and decision-makers and other researchers who will benefit from the results.
- The information will be used to help make changes in your community.
- At the end of the project you will be given copies your photographs and the video compilation.

Compensation

- At the end of the project, you will be given a $25 gift certificate.

Right to withdraw: Your participation is voluntary. You have the right to:

- Ask any questions about the study and clarify your rights as a participant throughout the research project.
- Withdraw from the project at any time without penalty.
- Refuse to answer any questions without fear of ill or unfair treatment.
- You will have the ability to read all the written out interviews and group meetings and review all media (photos, artwork, videos, etc.) before they are analyzed.
- You have the right to remove any words, thoughts or media you do not wish to be used in the study.
- After you have looked over the interviews and group meetings, you may withdraw any or all data (including photos, artwork, video, etc.) up to 20 days after you receive your transcripts for review.

Follow up: To obtain results from the study, please contact the principal investigator at pudduc@macewan.ca.

Funding Agency

This part of the Voices from the Street project is funded by the Homeward Trust Community Research Project Grant.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact:

- Cynthia Puddu, Principal Investigator (780-497-4710; pudduc@macewan.ca)
- Candace Nykiforuk, Principal Investigator (780-492-4109; candace.nykiforuk@ualberta.ca)

Questions or Concerns about Ethical Conduct:

This project has been approved on ethical grounds by the MacEwan University Research Ethics Board on February 5, 2016. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the committee at 780-633-3274 or REB@macewan.ca).

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Appendix C: Youth Consent Form

Informed Consent

Voices from the Street: Stories of Vulnerable Youth in the Shadow of Urban Development

Principal Investigator: Cynthia Puddu
Ph: 780-497-4710
pudduc@macewan.ca

Co- Investigator: Candace Nykiforuk
Ph: 780-492-4109
candace.nykiforuk@ualberta.ca

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	**Y**	**N**
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this project?	**Y**	**N**
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that if you engage in any of the illegal activities described to you that the researcher will have to report it to Jella Van Ens?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason and without penalty?	**Y**	**N**
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that we cannot guarantee your anonymity and confidentiality?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that you may withdraw any or all data (including photos, artwork, video, etc.) within 20 days after receiving your transcripts for review?	**Y**	**N**
Would you like your photographs displayed to the public? ○ If so, would you want your name on the photograph? ○ Would you like a written summary about the photograph attached to it? ○ If you would like a summary, would you like your name attached to it?	**Y** **Y** **Y** **Y**	**N** **N** **N** **N**
Do you grant permission to be audiotaped?	**Y**	**N**
Do you grant permission to be videotaped?	**Y**	**N**
Do you wish to remain anonymous?	**Y**	**N**
Do you wish to remain anonymous, but be referred to by a pseudonym? The pseudonym you choose is: _____	**Y**	**N**
You may quote me and use my name:	**Y**	**N**
Do you consent to follow up interviews?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand who will have access to your responses?	**Y**	**N**
I agree to take part in the study.	**Y**	**N**
Would you be willing to participate in future projects related to Voices from the Streets? ○ If yes, please provide phone number: _____	**Y**	**N**

Who explained the study to you?

_____

Signature of Participant _____

Printed Name_____

Date_____

Appendix D: Extra-Local Information Letter

Project Title:
Voices from the Street: Stories of Vulnerable Youth in the Shadow of Urban Development

Researcher:
Cynthia Puddu, Assistant Professor, Physical Education, MacEwan University; PhD Candidate, School of Public Health, University of Alberta
Candace Nykiforuk, Associate Professor, School of Public Health, University of Alberta

Purpose of the Research:

This engaged, Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) will partner with homeless Edmonton youth and youth workers to explore youth experiences during downtown revitalization. The purpose of this research is to examine how homeless youth find their way through the changes occurring in their environment. It will map out institutional, organizational and social factors that promote youth homelessness and increase social and health inequities. Youth will create the stories of their lives in the shadow of the redevelopment and share it with other community members, providing youth an opportunity to be active agents in the community change engulfing them.

We are looking at how different social relationships (with peers, youth workers, law enforcement, strangers) and institutional policies shape youth experiences. You are being asked to provide information on your work and how your interactions with youth either directly or indirectly shape their experiences.

Procedures:

Data will be collected using interviews. Interviews will be held in an office at MacEwan University or at your office and will last approximately 60 minutes. Follow up interviews may be necessary after the initial interview. The interviews will be audio recorded and the audio will be transcribed into text. Once the interview is transcribed, we will share transcript with you before it is analyzed. You will have 20 days to review the transcripts and you may delete any content you do not want used.

Please feel free to ask any questions about the procedures and goals of the study and your role as a participant.

Possible Risks and Benefits

Possible benefits participating in this research are an increased understanding of how youth survive on the streets and the strengths they have. It will increase the public's awareness of youth needs and uncover the positive and negative effects of downtown revitalization on homeless youth. It will also reveal institutional, organization and structural factors that promote youth homelessness. This can inform policy makers on to create policy change around the needs of homeless youth.

By participating, you may encounter stress if you feel their job status may be compromised by participating in the study. Participation may lead to judging by your peers or employer. Other than this, no other risks will be involved.

Confidentiality
The interviews will be tape recorded if you agree. The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Your name will not appear in any reports. Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and all

identifying information (institution name, occupation) will be removed from our report. Only the investigators will know and have access to the connection between real names and pseudonyms. This information will be kept in a locked file cabinet and/or a password protected encrypted computer. All physical data will be stored in a locked file cabinet at MacEwan University. Electronic data will be stored on a password protected encrypted computer. All data will be stored for at least 5 years. We will do our best keep your information anonymous and confidential but we cannot guarantee it.

Use of Data
Results from the study will be gathered to create a summary to be shared with community members and decision-makers. They will also be available to other researchers who will benefit from the results. The information will be used to help make changes in your community. This will help decision makers and community planners make changes. Results of this part of the research may also be shared in academic presentations, reports, and publications.

Right to withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary. You have the right to:

- Ask any questions about the study and clarify your rights as a participant throughout the research project.
- Withdraw from the project at any time.
- Refuse to answer any questions without fear of ill or unfair treatment.
- After you have reviewed your interview transcript, you may withdraw the any or all data within 20 of receiving the transcripts.

Follow up:

- To obtain results from the study, please contact the principal investigator at pudduc@macewan.ca.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact:

- Cynthia Puddu, Principal Investigator (780-497-4710; pudduc@macewan.ca)
- Candace Nykiforuk, Principal Investigator (780-492-4109; candace.nykiforuk@ualberta.ca)

Questions or Concerns about Ethical Conduct:

- This project has been approved on ethical grounds by the MacEwan University Research Ethics Board on February 5, 2016. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the committee at 780-633-3274 or REB@macewan.ca).
- The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Appendix E: Extra-Local Consent Form

Informed Consent

Voices from the Street: Stories of Vulnerable Youth in the Shadow of Urban Development

Principal Investigator: Cynthia Puddu
Ph: 780-497-4710
pudduc@macewan.ca

Co- Investigator: Candace Nykiforuk
Ph: 780-492-4109
candace.nykiforuk@ualberta.ca

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	**Y**	**N**
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this project?	**Y**	**N**
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that you may withdraw data within 20 days after receiving your interview transcripts for review?	**Y**	**N**
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you?	**Y**	**N**
Do you grant permission to be audiotaped?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand that we cannot guarantee your anonymity and confidentiality?	**Y**	**N**
Do you consent to follow up interviews?	**Y**	**N**
Do you understand who will have access to your responses?	**Y**	**N**
I agree to take part in the study.	**Y**	**N**
Would you be willing to participate in future projects related to Voices from the Streets? ○ If yes, please provide phone number: _____	**Y**	**N**

Who explained the study to you?

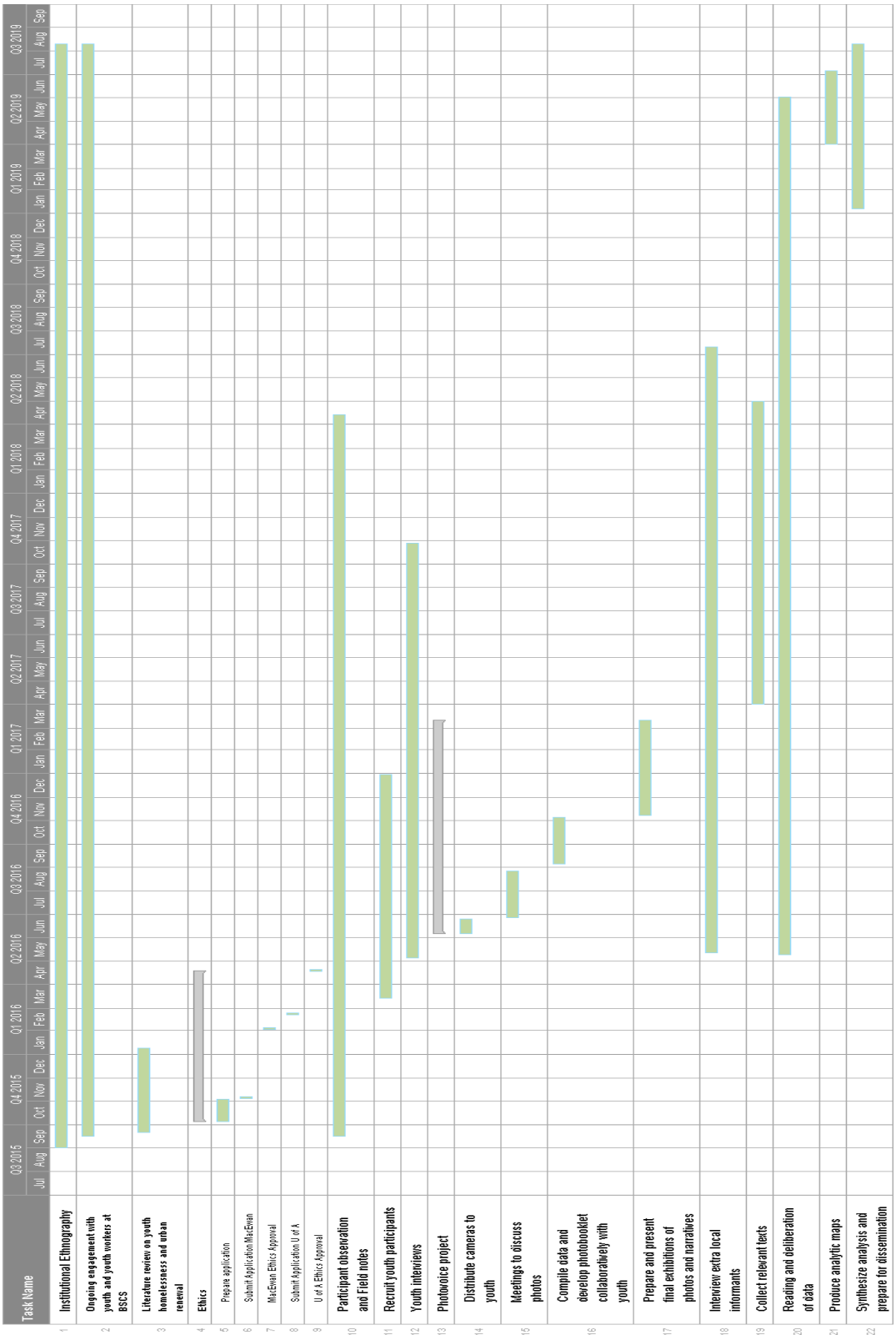
_____

Signature of Participant _____

Printed
Name_____

Date_____

Appendix F: Project Timeline



Appendix G: Sample Youth Informant Interview Questions

G1: Early Youth Informant Sample Interview Questions

How long have you been coming to Boyle Street Community Services?

Tell me why you started coming to Boyle Street Community Services?

What does a typical day look like for you?

How do you feel about the changes happening to downtown Edmonton?

How do you see the changes impacting you in the next two years?

G2: Youth Informant Sample Interview Questions on Barring

Have you been barred?

What happened before that to got barred? Walk me through what happened before to cause you to get barred?

What happened when you got barred? Who talked to you? What did they say?

What happened if you came back while you were still barred?

Appendix H: Extra-Local Informant Questions

What do you see impacting homelessness?

Have you noticed changes to your work and the community since development started?

Can you tell me about your job; what do you do, and then walk me through what a typical day is like for your job?

With regards to banning can you think of a specific example of what happened and what do you have to do when you ban someone?

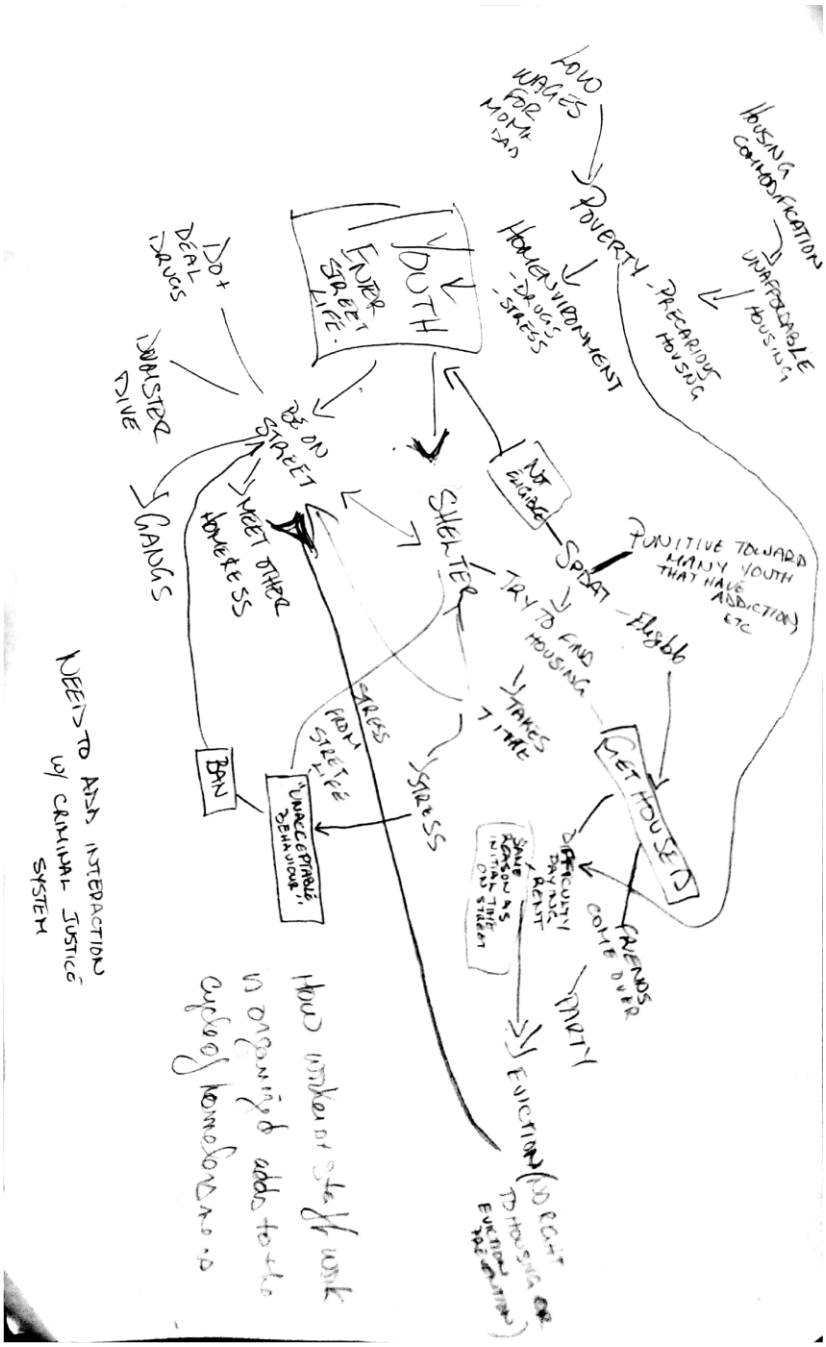
Is there is a banning policy? How is it used?

Are there mandates from funders, from the city or others that might affect your policies and practices?

How does funding work at your organization?

Appendix I: Analytic Map of Banning

Example of initial maps created at start of analysis



Appendix J – Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool

Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool

(SPDAT)

Assessment Tool for Single Adults

VERSION 4.01

1 (800) 355-0420 info@orgcode.com www.orgcode.com

Welcome to the SPDAT Line of Products

The Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (SPDAT) has been around in various incarnations for over a decade, before being released to the public in 2010. Since its initial release, the use of the SPDAT has been expanding exponentially and is now used in over one thousand communities across the United States, Canada, and Australia.

More communities using the tool means there is an unprecedented demand for versions of the SPDAT, customized for specific client groups or service delivery contexts. With the release of SPDAT V4, there have been more current versions of SPDAT products than ever before.

VI-SPDAT Series

The **Vulnerability Index – Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool** (VI-SPDAT) was developed as a pre-screening tool for communities that are very busy and may not have the resources to conduct a full SPDAT assessment for every client. It was made in collaboration with Community Solutions, creators of the Vulnerability Index, as a brief survey that can be conducted to quickly determine whether a client has high, moderate, or low acuity. The use of this survey can help prioritize which clients should be given a full SPDAT assessment first. Because it is a self-reported survey, no special training is required to use the VI-SPDAT.

Current versions available:

- VI-SPDAT V 2.0 for Individuals
- VI-SPDAT V 2.0 for Families
- VI-SPDAT V 1.0 for Youth

All versions are available online at

www.orgcode.com/products/vi-spdat/

SPDAT Series

The **Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool** (SPDAT) was developed as an assessment tool for frontline workers at agencies that work with homeless clients to prioritize which of those clients should receive assistance first. It is an in-depth assessment that relies on the assessor's ability to interpret responses and corroborate those with evidence. As a result, this tool may only be used by those who have received proper, up-to-date training provided by OrgCode Consulting, Inc. or an OrgCode certified trainer.

Current versions available:

- SPDAT V 4.0 for Individuals
- SPDAT V 2.0 for Families
- SPDAT V 1.0 for Youth

Information about all versions is available online at

www.orgcode.com/products/spdat/

1 (800) 355-0420 info@orgcode.com www.orgcode.com

SPDAT Training Series

To use the SPDAT, training by OrgCode or an OrgCode certified trainer is required. We provide training on a wide variety of topics over a variety of mediums.

The full-day in-person SPDAT Level 1 training provides you the opportunity to bring together as many people as you want to be trained for one low fee. The webinar training allows for a maximum of 15 different computers to be logged into the training at one time. We also offer online courses for individuals that you can do at your own speed.

The training gives you the manual, case studies, application to current practice, a review of each component of the tool, conversation guidance with prospective clients – and more!

Current SPDAT training available:

- Level 0 SPDAT Training: VI-SPDAT for Frontline Workers
- Level 1 SPDAT Training: SPDAT for Frontline Workers
- Level 2 SPDAT Training: SPDAT for Supervisors
- Level 3 SPDAT Training: SPDAT for Trainers

Other related training available:

- Excellence in Housing-Based Case Management
- Coordinated Access & Common Assessment
- Motivational Interviewing
- Objective-Based Interactions

More information about SPDAT training, including pricing, is available online at

http://www.orgcode.com/product-category/training/spdat/

Terms and Conditions Governing the Use of the SPDAT

SPDAT products have been developed by OrgCode Consulting, Inc. with extensive feedback from key community partners including people with lived experience. The tools are provided free of charge to communities to improve the client centered services dedicated to increasing housing stability and wellness. Training is indeed required for the administration and interpretation of these assessment tools. Use of the SPDAT products without authorized training is strictly prohibited.

By using this tool, you accept and agree to be bound by the terms of this expectation.

No sharing, reproduction, use or duplication of the information herein is permitted without the express written consent of OrgCode Consulting, Inc.

Ownership

The Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool ("SPDAT") and accompanying documentation is owned by OrgCode Consulting, Inc.

Training

Although the SPDAT Series is provided free of charge to communities, training by OrgCode Consulting, Inc. or a third party trainer, authorized by OrgCode, must be successfully completed. After meeting the training requirements required to administer and interpret the SPDAT Series, practitioners are permitted to implement the SPDAT in their work with clients.

Restrictions on Use

You may not use or copy the SPDAT prior to successfully completing training on its use, provided by OrgCode Consulting, Inc. or a third-party trainer authorized by OrgCode. You may not share the SPDAT with other individuals not trained on its use. You may not train others on the use of the SPDAT, unless specifically authorized by OrgCode Consulting, Inc.

Restrictions on Alteration

You may not modify the SPDAT or create any derivative work of the SPDAT or its accompanying documentation, without the express written consent of OrgCode Consulting, Inc. Derivative works include but are not limited to translations.

Disclaimer

The management and staff of OrgCode Consulting, Inc. (OrgCode) do not control the way in which the Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (SPDAT) will be used, applied or integrated into related client processes by communities, agency management or frontline workers. OrgCode assumes no legal responsibility or liability for the misuse of the SPDAT, decisions that are made or services that are received in conjunction with the assessment tool.

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A. Mental Health & Wellness & Cognitive Functioning

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Have you ever received any help with your mental wellness?* • *Do you feel you are getting all the help you need for your mental health or stress?* • *Has a doctor ever prescribed you pills for nerves, anxiety, depression or anything like that?* • *Have you ever gone to an emergency room or stayed in a hospital because you weren't feeling 100% emotionally?* • *Do you have trouble learning or paying attention?* • *Have you ever had testing done to identify learning disabilities?* • *Do you know if, when pregnant with you, your mother did anything that we now know can have negative effects on the baby?* • *Have you ever hurt your brain or head?* • *Do you have any documents or papers about your mental health or brain functioning?* • *Are there other professionals we could speak with that have knowledge of your mental health?*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ Serious and persistent mental illness (2+ hospitalizations in a mental health facility or psychiatric ward in the past 2 years) **and** not in a heightened state of recovery currently ☐ Major barriers to performing tasks and functions of daily living or communicating intent because of a brain injury, learning disability or developmental disability
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ Heightened concerns about state of mental health, but fewer than 2 hospitalizations, and/or without knowledge of presence of a diagnosable mental health condition ☐ Diminished ability to perform tasks and functions of daily living or communicating intent because of a brain injury, learning disability or developmental disability
2	While there may be concern for overall mental health or mild impairments to performing tasks and functions of daily living or communicating intent, **all** of the following are true: ☐ No major concerns about safety or ability to be housed without intensive supports to assist with mental health or cognitive functioning ☐ No major concerns for the health and safety of others because of mental health or cognitive functioning ability ☐ No compelling reason for screening by an expert in mental health or cognitive functioning prior to housing to fully understand capacity
1	☐ In a heightened state of recovery, has a Wellness Recovery Action Plan (WRAP) or similar plan for promoting wellness, understands symptoms and strategies for coping with them, **and** is engaged with mental health supports as necessary.
0	☐ No mental health or cognitive functioning issues disclosed, suspected or observed.

B. Physical Health & Wellness

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *How is your health?* • *Are you getting any help with your health? How often?* • *Do you feel you are getting all the care you need for your health?* • *Any illness like diabetes, HIV, Hep C or anything like that going on?* • *Ever had a doctor tell you that you have problems with blood pressure or heart or lungs or anything like that?* • *When was the last time you saw a doctor? What was that for?* • *Do you have a clinic or doctor that you usually go to?* • *Anything going on right now with your health that you think would prevent you from living a full, healthy, happy life?* • *Are there other professionals we could speak with that have knowledge of your health?* • *Do you have any documents or papers about your health or past stays in hospital because of your health?*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ Co-occurring chronic health conditions ☐ Attempting a treatment protocol for a chronic health condition, but the treatment is not improving health ☐ Pallative health condition
3	Presence of a health issue with **any** of the following: ☐ Not connected with professional resources to assist with a real or perceived serious health issue, by choice ☐ Single chronic or serious health concern but does not connect with professional resources because of insufficient community resources (e.g. lack of availability or affordability) ☐ Unable to follow the treatment plan as a direct result of homeless status
2	☐ Presence of a relatively minor physical health issue, which is managed and/or cared for with appropriate professional resources or through informed self-care ☐ Presence of a physical health issue, for which appropriate treatment protocols are followed, but there is still a moderate impact on their daily living
1	Single chronic or serious health condition, but **all** of the following are true: ☐ Able to manage the health issue and live a relatively active and healthy life ☐ Connected to appropriate health supports ☐ Educated and informed on how to manage the health issue, take medication as necessary related to the condition, and consistently follow these requirements.
0	☐ No serious or chronic health condition disclosed, observed, or suspected ☐ If any minor health condition, they are managed appropriately

C. Medication

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Have you recently been prescribed any medications by a health care professional?* • *Do you take any medications prescribed to you by a doctor?* • *Have you ever sold some or all of your prescription?* • *Have you ever had a doctor prescribe you medication that you didn't have filled at a pharmacy or didn't take?* • *Were any of your medications changed in the last month? If yes: How did that make you feel?* • *Do other people ever steal your medications?* • *Do you ever share your medications with other people?* • *How do you store your medications and make sure you take the right medication at the right time each day?* • *What do you do if you realize you've forgotten to take your medications?* • *Do you have any papers or documents about the medications you take?*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 30 days, started taking a prescription which **is** having any negative impact on day to day living, socialization or mood ☐ Shares or sells prescription, but keeps **less** than is sold or shared ☐ Regularly misuses medication (e.g. frequently forgets; often takes the wrong dosage; uses some or all of medication to get high) ☐ Has had a medication prescribed in the last 90 days that remains unfilled, for any reason
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 30 days, started taking a prescription which is **not** having any negative impact on day to day living, socialization or mood ☐ Shares or sells prescription, but keeps **more** than is sold or shared ☐ Requires intensive assistance to manage or take medication (e.g., assistance organizing in a pillbox; working with pharmacist to blister-pack; adapting the living environment to be more conducive to taking medications at the right time for the right purpose, like keeping nighttime medications on the bedside table and morning medications by the coffeemaker) ☐ Medications are stored and distributed by a third-party
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ Fails to take medication at the appropriate time or appropriate dosage, 1-2 times per week ☐ Self-manages medications except for requiring reminders or assistance for refills ☐ Successfully self-managing medication for fewer than 30 consecutive days
1	☐ Successfully self-managing medications for more than 30, but less than 180, consecutive days
0	**Any** of the following: ☐ No medication prescribed to them ☐ Successfully self-managing medication for 181+ consecutive days

D. Substance Use

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *When was the last time you had a drink or used drugs?* • *Is there anything we should keep in mind related to drugs or alcohol?* • *[If they disclose use of drugs and/or alcohol] How frequently would you say you use [specific substance] in a week?* • *Ever have a doctor tell you that your health may be at risk because you drink or use drugs?* • *Have you engaged with anyone professionally related to your substance use that we could speak with?* • *Ever get into fights, fall down and bang your head, or pass out when drinking or using other drugs?* • *Have you ever used alcohol or other drugs in a way that may be considered less than safe?* • *Do you ever end up doing things you later regret after you have gotten really hammered?* • *Do you ever drink mouthwash or cooking wine or hand sanitizer or anything like that?*	**NOTES**

Note: Consumption thresholds: 2 drinks per day or 14 total drinks in any one week period for men; 2 drinks per day or 9 total drinks in any one week period for women.

	SCORING
4	☐ In a life-threatening health situation as a direct result of substance use, **or**, In the past 30 days, **any** of the following are true... ☐ Substance use is almost daily (21+ times) **and** often to the point of complete inebriation ☐ Binge drinking, non-beverage alcohol use, or inhalant use 4+ times ☐ Substance use resulting in passing out 2+ times
3	☐ Experiencing serious health impacts as a direct result of substance use, though not (yet) in a life-threatening position as a result, **or**, In the past 30 days, **any** of the following are true... ☐ Drug use reached the point of complete inebriation 12+ times ☐ Alcohol use usually exceeded the consumption thresholds (at least 5+ times), but usually not to the point of complete inebriation ☐ Binge drinking, non-beverage alcohol use, or inhalant use occurred 1-3 times
2	In the past 30 days, **any** of the following are true... ☐ Drug use reached the point of complete inebriation fewer than 12 times ☐ Alcohol use exceeded the consumption thresholds fewer than 5 times
1	☐ In the past 365 days, no alcohol use beyond consumption thresholds, **or**, ☐ If making claims to sobriety, no substance use in the past 30 days
0	☐ In the past 365 days, no substance use

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E. Experience of Abuse & Trauma

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
To avoid re-traumatizing the individual, ask selected approved questions as written. Do not probe for details of the trauma/abuse. This section is entirely self-reported. • *"I don't need you to go into any details, but has there been any point in your life where you experienced emotional, physical, sexual or psychological abuse?"* • *"Are you currently or have you ever received professional assistance to address that abuse?"* • *"Does the experience of abuse or trauma impact your day to day living in any way?"* • *"Does the experience of abuse or trauma impact your ability to hold down a job, maintain housing or engage in meaningful relationships with friends or family?"* • *"Have you ever found yourself feeling or acting in a certain way that you think is caused by a history of abuse or trauma?"* • *"Have you ever become homeless as a direct result of experiencing abuse or trauma?"*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	☐ A reported experience of abuse or trauma, believed to be a direct cause of their homelessness
3	☐ The experience of abuse or trauma is **not** believed to be a direct cause of homelessness, but abuse or trauma (experienced before, during, or after homelessness) **is** impacting daily functioning and/or ability to get out of homelessness
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ A reported experience of abuse or trauma, but is not believed to impact daily functioning and/or ability to get out of homelessness ☐ Engaged in therapeutic attempts at recovery, but does not consider self to be recovered
1	☐ A reported experience of abuse or trauma, and considers self to be recovered
0	☐ No reported experience of abuse or trauma

F. Risk of Harm to Self or Others

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Do you have thoughts about hurting yourself or anyone else? Have you ever acted on these thoughts? When was the last time?* • *What was occurring when you had these feelings or took these actions?* • *Have you ever received professional help – including maybe a stay at hospital – as a result of thinking about or attempting to hurt yourself or others? How long ago was that? Does that happen often?* • *Have you recently left a situation you felt was abusive or unsafe? How long ago was that?* • *Have you been in any fights recently - whether you started it or someone else did? How long ago was that? How often do you get into fights?*	**NOTES**

	SCORING
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 90 days, left an abusive situation ☐ In the past 30 days, attempted, threatened, or actually harmed self or others ☐ In the past 30 days, involved in a physical altercation (instigator or participant)
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 180 days, left an abusive situation, but no exposure to abuse in the past 90 days ☐ Most recently attempted, threatened, or actually harmed self or others in the past 180 days, but not in the past 30 days ☐ In the past 365 days, involved in a physical altercation (instigator or participant), but not in the past 30 days
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 365 days, left an abusive situation, but no exposure to abuse in the past 180 days ☐ Most recently attempted, threatened, or actually harmed self or others in the past 365 days, but not in the past 180 days ☐ 366+ days ago, 4+ involvements in physical alterations
1	☐ 366+ days ago, 1-3 involvements in physical alterations
0	☐ Reports no instance of harming self, being harmed, or harming others

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G. Involvement in Higher Risk and/or Exploitive Situations

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *[Observe, don't ask] Any abcesses or track marks from injection substance use?* • *Does anybody force or trick you to do something that you don't want to do?* • *Do you ever do stuff that could be considered dangerous like drinking until you pass out outside, or delivering drugs for someone, having sex without a condom with a casual partner, or anything like that?* • *Do you ever find yourself in situations that may be considered at a high risk for violence?* • *Do you ever sleep outside? How do you dress and prepare for that? Where do you tend to sleep?*	**NOTES**

	SCORING
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 180 days, engaged in 10+ higher risk and/or exploitive events ☐ In the past 90 days, left an abusive situation
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 180 days, engaged in 4-9 higher risk and/or exploitive events ☐ In the past 180 days, left an abusive situation, but not in the past 90 days
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 180 days, engaged in 1-3 higher risk and/or exploitive events ☐ 181+ days ago, left an abusive situation
1	☐ Any involvement in higher risk and/or exploitive situations occurred more than 180 days ago but less than 365 days ago
0	☐ In the past 365 days, no involvement in higher risk and/or exploitive events

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H. Interaction with Emergency Services

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *How often do you go to emergency rooms?* • *How many times have you had the police speak to you over the past 180 days?* • *Have you used an ambulance or needed the fire department at any time in the past 180 days?* • *How many times have you called or visited a crisis team or a crisis counselor in the last 180 days?* • *How many times have you been admitted to hospital in the last 180 days? How long did you stay?*	NOTES

Note: Emergency service use includes: admittance to emergency room/department; hospitalizations; trips to a hospital in an ambulance; crisis service, distress centers, suicide prevention service, sexual assault crisis service, sex worker crisis service, or similar service; interactions with police for the purpose of law enforcement; interactions with fire service in emergency situations.

SCORING	
4	☐ In the past 180 days, cumulative total of 10+ interactions with emergency services
3	☐ In the past 180 days, cumulative total of 4-9 interactions with emergency services
2	☐ In the past 180 days, cumulative total of 1-3 interactions with emergency services
1	☐ Any interaction with emergency services occurred more than 180 days ago but less than 365 days ago
0	☐ In the past 365 days, no interaction with emergency services

I. Legal

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Do you have any "legal stuff" going on?* • *Have you had a lawyer assigned to you by a court?* • *Do you have any upcoming court dates? Do you think there's a chance you will do time?* • *Any involvement with family court or child custody matters?* • *Any outstanding fines?* • *Have you paid any fines in the last 12 months for anything?* • *Have you done any community service in the last 12 months?* • *Is anybody expecting you to do community service for anything right now?* • *Did you have any legal stuff in the last year that got dismissed?* • *Is your housing at risk in any way right now because of legal issues?*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ Current outstanding legal issue(s), likely to result in fines of $500+ ☐ Current outstanding legal issue(s), likely to result in incarceration of 3+ months (cumulatively), inclusive of any time held on remand
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ Current outstanding legal issue(s), likely to result in fines less than $500 ☐ Current outstanding legal issue(s), likely to result in incarceration of less than 90 days (cumulatively), inclusive of any time held on remand
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 365 days, relatively minor legal issue has occurred and was resolved through community service or payment of fine(s) ☐ Currently outstanding relatively minor legal issue that is unlikely to result in incarceration (but may result in community service)
1	☐ There are no current legal issues, **and** any legal issues that have historically occurred have been resolved without community service, payment of fine, or incarceration
0	☐ No legal issues within the past 365 days, **and** currently no conditions of release

J. Managing Tenancy

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Are you currently homeless?* • *[If the person is housed] Do you have an eviction notice?* • *[If the person is housed] Do you think that your housing is at risk?* • *How is your relationship with your neighbors?* • *How do you normally get along with landlords?* • *How have you been doing with taking care of your place?*	**NOTES**

Note: Housing matters include: conflict with landlord and/or neighbors, damages to the unit, payment of rent on time and in full. Payment of rent through a third party is <u>not</u> considered to be a short-coming or deficiency in the ability to pay rent.

	SCORING
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ Currently homeless ☐ In the next 30 days, will be re-housed or return to homelessness ☐ In the past 365 days, was re-housed 6+ times ☐ In the past 90 days, support worker(s) have been cumulatively involved 10+ times with housing matters
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the next 60 days, will be re-housed or return to homelessness, but not in next 30 days ☐ In the past 365 days, was re-housed 3-5 times ☐ In the past 90 days, support worker(s) have been cumulatively involved 4-9 times with housing matters
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 365 days, was re-housed 2 times ☐ In the past 180 days, was re-housed 1+ times, but not in the past 60 days ☐ Continuously housed for at least 90 days but not more than 180 days ☐ In the past 90 days, support worker(s) have been cumulatively involved 1-3 times with housing matters
1	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 365 days, was re-housed 1 time ☐ Continuously housed, with no assistance on housing matters, for at least 180 days but not more than 365 days
0	☐ Continuously housed, with no assistance on housing matters, for at least 365 days

K. Personal Administration & Money Management

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• How are you with taking care of money? • How are you with paying bills on time and taking care of other financial stuff? • Do you have any street debts? • Do you have any drug or gambling debts? • Is there anybody that thinks you owe them money? • Do you budget every single month for every single thing you need? Including cigarettes? Booze? Drugs? • Do you try to pay your rent before paying for anything else? • Are you behind in any payments like child support or student loans or anything like that?	NOTES

SCORING	
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ Cannot create or follow a budget, regardless of supports provided ☐ Does not comprehend financial obligations ☐ Does not have an income (including formal and informal sources) ☐ Not aware of the full amount spent on substances, if they use substances ☐ Substantial real or perceived debts of $1,000+, past due or requiring monthly payments
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ Requires intensive assistance to create and manage a budget (including any legally mandated guardian/trustee that provides assistance or manages access to money) ☐ Only understands their financial obligations with the assistance of a 3rd party ☐ Not budgeting for substance use, if they are a substance user ☐ Real or perceived debts of $999 or less, past due or requiring monthly payments
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 365 days, source of income has changed 2+ times ☐ Budgeting to the best of ability (including formal and informal sources), but still short of money every month for essential needs ☐ Voluntarily receives assistance creating and managing a budget or restricts access to their own money (e.g. guardian/trusteeship) ☐ Has been self-managing financial resources and taking care of associated administrative tasks for less than 90 days
1	☐ Has been self-managing financial resources and taking care of associated administrative tasks for at least 90 days, but for less than 180 days
0	☐ Has been self-managing financial resources and taking care of associated administrative tasks for at least 180 days

L. Social Relationships & Networks

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Tell me about your friends, family or other people in your life.* • *How often do you get together or chat?* • *When you go to doctor's appointments or meet with other professionals like that, what is that like?* • *Are there any people in your life that you feel are just using you?* • *Are there any of your closer friends that you feel are always asking you for money, smokes, drugs, food or anything like that?* • *Have you ever had people crash at your place that you did not want staying there?* • *Have you ever been threatened with an eviction or lost a place because of something that friends or family did in your apartment?* • *Have you ever been concerned about not following your lease agreement because of your friends or family?*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 90 days, left an exploitive, abusive or dependent relationship ☐ Friends, family or other people are placing security of housing at imminent risk, **or** impacting life, wellness, or safety ☐ No friends or family and demonstrates no ability to follow social norms ☐ Currently homeless and would classify most of friends and family as homeless
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ In the past 90-180 days, left an exploitive, abusive or dependent relationship ☐ Friends, family or other people are having some negative consequences on wellness or housing stability ☐ No friends or family but demonstrating ability to follow social norms ☐ Meeting new people with an intention of forming friendships ☐ Reconnecting with previous friends or family members, but experiencing difficulty advancing the relationship ☐ Currently homeless, and would classify some of friends and family as being housed, while others are homeless
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ More than 180 days ago, left an exploitive, abusive or dependent relationship ☐ Developing relationships with new people but not yet fully trusting them ☐ Currently homeless, and would classify friends and family as being housed
1	☐ Has been housed for less than 180 days, **and** is engaged with friends or family, who are having no negative consequences on the individual's housing stability
0	☐ Has been housed for at least 180 days, **and** is engaged with friends or family, who are having no negative consequences on the individual's housing stability

M. Self Care & Daily Living Skills

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *Do you have any worries about taking care of yourself?* • *Do you have any concerns about cooking, cleaning, laundry or anything like that?* • *Do you ever need reminders to do things like shower or clean up?* • *Describe your last apartment.* • *Do you know how to shop for nutritious food on a budget?* • *Do you know how to make low cost meals that can result in leftovers to freeze or save for another day?* • *Do you tend to keep all of your clothes clean?* • *Have you ever had a problem with mice or other bugs like cockroaches as a result of a dirty apartment?* • *When you have had a place where you have made a meal, do you tend to clean up dishes and the like before they get crusty?*	**NOTES**

	SCORING
4	**Any** of the following: ☐ No insight into how to care for themselves, their apartment or their surroundings ☐ Currently homeless and relies upon others to meet basic needs (e.g. access to shelter, showers, toilet, laundry, food, and/or clothing) on an almost daily basis ☐ Engaged in hoarding or collecting behavior and is not aware that it is an issue in her/his life
3	**Any** of the following: ☐ Has insight into some areas of how to care for themselves, their apartment or their surroundings, but misses other areas because of lack of insight ☐ In the past 180 days, relied upon others to meet basic needs (e.g. access to shelter, showers, toilet, laundry, food, and/or clothing), 14+ days in any 30-day period ☐ Engaged in hoarding or collecting behavior and is aware that it is an issue in her/his life
2	**Any** of the following: ☐ Fully aware and has insight in all that is required to take care of themselves, their apartment and their surroundings, but has not yet mastered the skills or time management to fully execute this on a regular basis ☐ In the past 180 days, relied upon others to meet basic needs (e.g. access to shelter, showers, toilet, laundry, food, and/or clothing), fewer than 14 days in every 30-day period
1	☐ In the past 365 days, accessed community resources 4 or fewer times, **and** is fully taking care of all their daily needs
0	☐ For the past 365+ days, fully taking care of all their daily needs independently

N. Meaningful Daily Activity

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• *How do you spend your day?* • *How do you spend your free time?* • *Does that make you feel happy/fulfilled?* • *How many days a week would you say you have things to do that make you feel happy/fulfilled?* • *How much time in a week would you say you are totally bored?* • *When you wake up in the morning, do you tend to have an idea of what you plan to do that day?* • *How much time in a week would you say you spend doing stuff to fill up the time rather than doing things that you love?* • *Are there any things that get in the way of you doing the sorts of activities you would like to be doing?*	**NOTES**

SCORING	
4	☐ No planned, legal activities described as providing fulfillment or happiness
3	☐ Discussing, exploring, signing up for and/or preparing for new activities or to re-engage with planned, legal activities that used to provide fulfillment or happiness
2	☐ Attempting new or re-engaging with planned, legal activities that used to provide fulfillment or happiness, but uncertain that activities selected are currently providing fulfillment or happiness, **or** the individual is not fully committed to continuing the activities.
1	☐ Has planned, legal activities described as providing fulfillment or happiness 1-3 days per week
0	☐ Has planned, legal activities described as providing fulfillment or happiness 4+ days per week

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O. History of Homelessness & Housing

PROMPTS	CLIENT SCORE:
• How long have you been homeless? • How many times have you been homeless in your life other than this most recent time? • Have you spent any time sleeping on a friend's couch or floor? And if so, during those times did you consider that to be your permanent address? • Have you ever spent time sleeping in a car or alleyway or garage or barn or bus shelter or anything like that? • Have you ever spent time sleeping in an abandoned building? • Were you ever in hospital or jail for a period of time when you didn't have a permanent address to go to when you got out?	NOTES

SCORING	
4	☐ Over the past 10 years, cumulative total of 5+ years of homelessness
3	☐ Over the past 10 years, cumulative total of 2+ years but fewer than 5 years of homelessness
2	☐ Over the past 4 years, cumulative total of 30+ days but fewer than 2 years of homelessness
1	☐ Over the past 4 years, cumulative total of 7+ days but fewer than 30 days of homelessness
0	☐ Over the past 4 years, cumulative total of 7 or fewer days of homelessness

SERVICE PRIORITIZATION DECISION ASSISTANCE TOOL (SPDAT)

SINGLE ADULTS VERSION 4.01

Client:	Worker:	Version:	Date:

COMPONENT	SCORE	COMMENTS
MENTAL HEALTH & WELLNESS AND COGNITIVE FUNCTIONING		
PHYSICAL HEALTH & WELLNESS		
MEDICATION		
SUBSTANCE USE		
EXPERIENCE OF ABUSE AND/ OR TRAUMA		
RISK OF HARM TO SELF OR OTHERS		
INVOLVEMENT IN HIGHER RISK AND/OR EXPLOITIVE SITUATIONS		
INTERACTION WITH EMERGENCY SERVICES		

1 (800) 355-0420 info@orgcode.com www.orgcode.com

SERVICE PRIORITIZATION DECISION ASSISTANCE TOOL (SPDAT)

SINGLE ADULTS VERSION 4.01

Client:	Worker:	Version:	Date:

COMPONENT	SCORE	COMMENTS
LEGAL INVOLVEMENT		
MANAGING TENANCY		
PERSONAL ADMINISTRATION & MONEY MANAGEMENT		
SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS & NETWORKS		
SELF-CARE & DAILY LIVING SKILLS		
MEANINGFUL DAILY ACTIVITIES		
HISTORY OF HOUSING & HOMELESSNESS		
TOTAL		**Score: Recommendation:** 0-19: No housing intervention 20-34: Rapid Re-Housing 35-60: Permanent Supportive Housing/Housing First

1 (800) 355-0420 info@orgcode.com www.orgcode.com

Appendix A: About the SPDAT

OrgCode Consulting, Inc. is pleased to announce the release of Version 4 of the Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (SPDAT). Since its release in 2010, the SPDAT has been used with over 10,000 unique individuals in over 100 communities across North America and in select locations around the world.

Originally designed as a tool to help prioritize housing services for homeless individuals based upon their acuity, the SPDAT has been successfully adapted to other fields of practice, including: discharge planning from hospitals, work with youth, survivors of domestic violence, health research, planning supports for consumer survivors of psychiatric care systems, and in work supporting people with fetal alcohol spectrum disorders. We are encouraged that so many service providers and communities are expanding the use of this tool, and OrgCode will continue to support the innovative use of the SPDAT to meet local needs.

SPDAT Design

The SPDAT is designed to:

- Help prioritize which clients should receive what type of housing assistance intervention, and assist in determining the intensity of case management services
- Prioritize the sequence of clients receiving those services
- Help prioritize the time and resources of Frontline Workers
- Allow Team Leaders and program supervisors to better match client needs to the strengths of specific Frontline Workers on their team
- Assist Team Leaders and program supervisors to support Frontline Workers and establish service priorities across their team
- Provide assistance with case planning and encourage reflection on the prioritization of different elements within a case plan
- Track the depth of need and service responses to clients over time

The SPDAT is NOT designed to:

- Provide a diagnosis
- Assess current risk or be a predictive index for future risk
- Take the place of other valid and reliable instruments used in clinical research and care

The SPDAT is only used with those clients who meet program eligibility criteria. For example, if there is an eligibility criterion that requires prospective clients to be homeless at time of intake to be eligible for Housing First, then the pre-condition must be met before pursuing the application of the SPDAT. For that reason, we have also created the VI-SPDAT as an initial screening tool.

The SPDAT is not intended to replace clinical expertise or clinical assessment tools. The tool complements existing clinical approaches by incorporating a wide array of components that provide both a global and detailed picture of a client's acuity. Certain components of the SPDAT relate to clinical concerns, and it is expected that intake professionals and clinicians will work together to ensure the accurate assessment of these issues. In fact, many organizations and communities have found the SPDAT to be a useful method for bridging the gap between housing, social services and clinical services.

Version 4

The SPDAT has been influenced by the experience of practitioners in its use, persons with lived experience that have had the SPDAT implemented with them, as well as a number of other excellent tools such as (but not limited to) the Outcome Star, Health of the Nation Outcome Scale, Denver Acuity Scale, Camberwell Assessment of Needs, Vulnerability Index, and Transition Aged Youth Triage Tool.

In preparing SPDAT v4, we have adopted a comprehensive and collaborative approach to changing and improving the SPDAT. Communities that have used the tool for three months or more have provided us with their feedback. OrgCode staff have observed the tool in operation to better understand its implementation in the field. An independent committee composed of service practitioners and academics review enhancements to the SPDAT. Furthermore, we continue to test the validity of SPDAT results through the use of control groups. Overall, we consistently see that groups assessed with the SPDAT have better long-term housing and life stability outcomes than those assessed with other tools, or no tools at all.

OrgCode intends to continue working with communities and persons with lived experience to make future versions of the SPDAT even better. We hope all those communities and agencies that choose to use this tool will remain committed to collaborating with us to make those improvements over time.

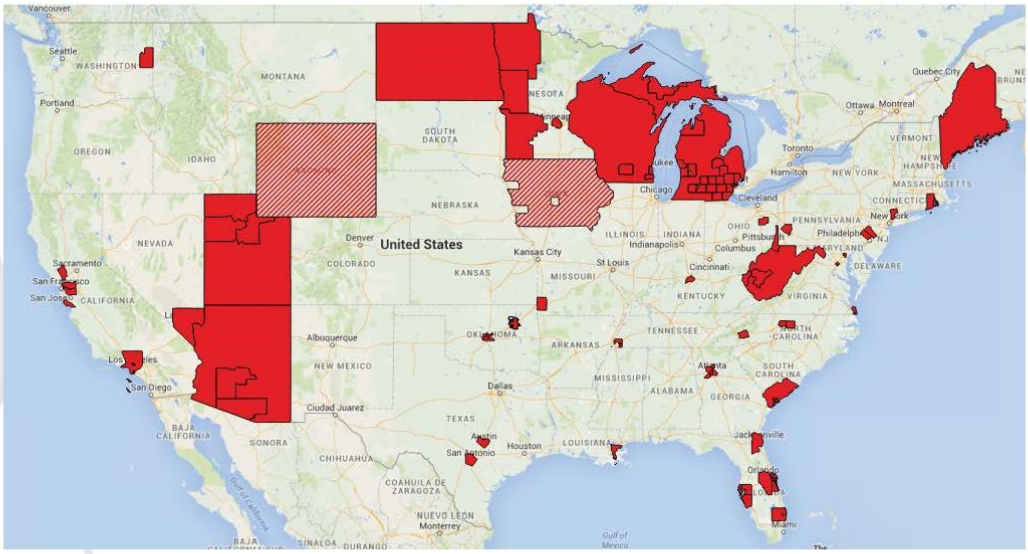
Version 4 builds upon the success of Version 3 of the SPDAT with some refinements. Starting in August 2014, a survey was launched of existing SPDAT users to get their input on what should be amended, improved, or maintained in the tool. Analysis was completed across all of these responses. Further research was conducted. Questions were tested and refined over several months, again including the direct voice of persons with lived experience and frontline practitioners. Input was also gathered from senior government officials that create policy and programs to help ensure alignment with guidelines and funding requirements.

The major differences from Version 3 to Version 4 include:

- The structure of the tools is the same: four domains (five for families) with components aligned to specific domains. The names of the domains and the components remain unchanged.
- The scoring of the tools is the same: 60 points for singles, and 80 points for families.
- The scoring tables used to run from 0 through to 4. They are now reversed with each table starting at 4 and working their way down to 0. This increases the speed of assessment.
- The order of the tools has changed, grouped together by domain.
- Language has been simplified.
- Days are used rather than months to provide greater clarification and alignment to how most databases capture periods of time in service.
- Greater specificity has been provided in some components such as amount of debts.

Appendix B: Where the SPDAT is being used (as of May 2015)

United States of America



Arizona
- Statewide

California
- Oakland/Alameda County CoC
- Richmond/Contra Costa County CoC
- Watsonville/Santa Cruz City & County CoC
- Napa City & County CoC
- Los Angeles City & County CoC
- Pasadena CoC
- Glendale CoC

District of Columbia
- District of Columbia CoC

Florida
- Sarasota/Bradenton/Manatee, Sarasota Counties CoC
- Tampa/Hillsborough County CoC
- St. Petersburg/Clearwater/Largo/Pinellas County CoC
- Orlando/Orange, Osceola, Seminole Counties CoC
- Jacksonville-Duval, Clay Counties CoC
- Palm Bay/Melbourne/Brevard County CoC
- West Palm Beach/Palm Beach County CoC

Georgia
- Atlanta County CoC
- Fulton County CoC
- Marietta/Cobb County CoC
- DeKalb County CoC

Iowa
- Parts of Iowa Balance of State CoC

Kentucky
- Louisville/Jefferson County CoC

Louisiana
- New Orleans/Jefferson Parish CoC

Maryland
- Baltimore City CoC

Maine
- Statewide

Michigan
- Statewide

Minnesota
- Minneapolis/Hennepin County CoC
- Northwest Minnesota CoC
- Moorhead/West Central Minnesota CoC
- Southwest Minnesota CoC

Missouri
- Joplin/Jasper, Newton Counties CoC

North Carolina
- Winston Salem/Forsyth County CoC
- Asheville/Buncombe County CoC
- Greensboro/High Point CoC

North Dakota
- Statewide

Nevada
- Las Vegas/Clark County CoC

New York
- Yonkers/Mount Vernon/New Rochelle/ Westchester County CoC

Ohio
- Canton/Massillon/Alliance/Stark County CoC
- Toledo/Lucas County CoC

Oklahoma
- Tulsa City & County/Broken Arrow CoC
- Oklahoma City CoC

Pennsylvania
- Lower Marion/Norristown/Abington/ Montgomery County CoC
- Bristol/Bensalem/Bucks County CoC
- Pittsburgh/McKeesport/Penn Hills/ Allegheny County CoC

Rhode Island
- Statewide

South Carolina
- Charleston/Low Country CoC

Tennessee
- Memphis/Shelby County CoC

Texas
- San Antonio/Bexar County CoC
- Austin/Travis County CoC

Utah
- Salt Lake City & County CoC
- Utah Balance of State CoC
- Provo/Mountainland CoC

Virginia
- Virginia Beach CoC
- Arlington County CoC

Washington
- Spokane City & County CoC

Wisconsin
- Statewide

West Virginia
- Statewide

Wyoming
- Wyoming is in the process of implementing statewide

Canada

Alberta
- Province-wide

Manitoba
- City of Winnipeg

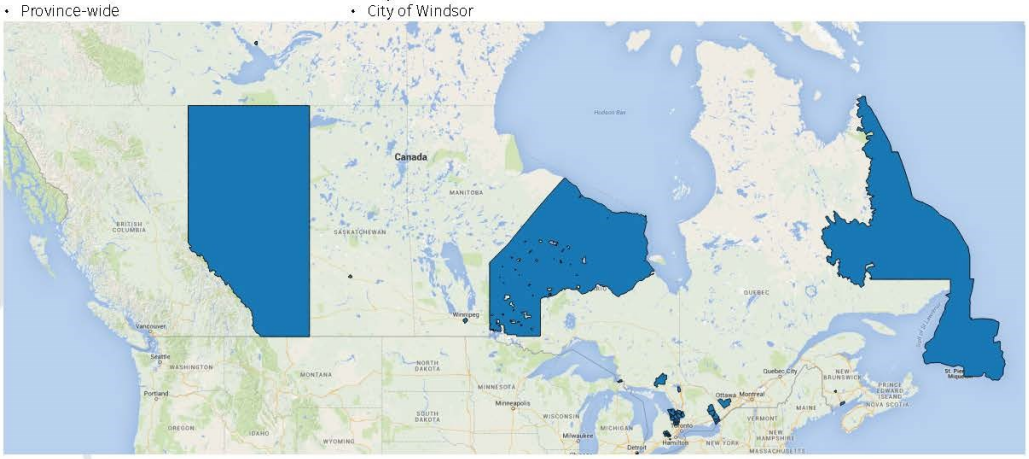
New Brunswick
- City of Fredericton
- City of Saint John

Newfoundland and Labrador
- Province-wide

Northwest Territories
- City of Yellowknife

Ontario
- City of Barrie/Simcoe County
- City of Brantford/Brant County
- City of Greater Sudbury
- City of Kingston/Frontenac County
- City of Ottawa
- City of Windsor
- District of Kenora
- District of Parry Sound
- District of Sault Ste Marie
- Regional Municipality of Waterloo
- Regional Municipality of York

Saskatchewan
- Saskatoon



Australia

Queensland
- Brisbane

1 (800) 355-0420 info@orgcode.com www.orgcode.com

Appendix K – Boyle Street Community Services Banning Policy

Code of Conduct-

Respect Yourself, other community members, staff and the property

Boyle Street is neutral ground – please leave the streets on the streets, including any gang colours and gang rivalries

Boyle Street does not allow sharing, dealing or selling of drugs or alcohol– please keep the selling and dealing away from Boyle Street

Boyle Street is a physically safe zone – please keep grudges and all weapons well away from Boyle Street.

Boyle Street is a smoke free zone – you are welcome to smoke in the designated smoking areas outside of the building

BACKGROUND

The Boyle Street Community Centre is neutral ground. Everyone who comes to the centre has the right to peaceful enjoyment of a non-threatening environment. Respect of self, others and property is essential. Personal and collective responsibility is critical to maintaining a healthy community environment.

POLICY

Boyle Street Community Services encourages all staff, volunteers and users of community centre programs and facilities to demonstrate behaviours that ensure a safe environment. Boyle Street accepts restricting access to its facilities as a method to modify behaviours that undermine safety or infringes on peaceful enjoyment **only when non-restrictive efforts have failed.**

1. Any action taken under this policy will be consistent with the mission, values, and goals of Boyle Street Community Services.

2. Implementation of procedures will be within the framework of relationship-based practice. This begins with introducing yourself and learning the name of the person you are talking to.

3. All actions will reflect Boyle Street values and beliefs. Staff should understand the motivation for the behaviour, address underlying reasons for the behaviour and seek to redirect need-satisfying behaviours in a positive direction.

4. All actions will be carried out in a confidential and respectful manner that supports choice, provides face-saving outs, and encourages mediation and reconciliation.

5. Boyle Street Community Services expectations regarding behaviour – including the Code of Conduct – will be posted prominently in plain and positive language.

6. When interacting with a person who is new to Boyle Street, staff will ensure the person is familiar with the Code of Conduct and other behaviour expectations.

7. When people act inappropriately they will be reminded of the Code of Conduct and asked to modify their behaviour (this is a non-restrictive intervention). If the person modifies their behaviour, no further action is necessary. These incidents must be recorded as a means to show a pattern of behaviour.

8. Barring people from programs, services, and facilities may be done in consultation with the Manager of that program, in an effort to

modify behaviour when non-restrictive interventions have failed, or in response to a high-risk situation or violent behaviour.

9. People may be barred from the community centre but still receive services, unless the delivery of such service poses a threat to the staff. Barred persons need to make arrangements with staff – by telephone, by getting other staff/community members to relay messages, or by communicating through the Concierge - not by appearing in the centre – to receive services (which can, for example, include delivery of mail). Barred individuals are not to be escorted into the building or brought items during the length of their bar by staff.

   Supervised Consumption services are an exception only when other Supervised Consumption Sites are inaccessible. Barred individuals must be accompanied in and escorted out of the centre by a SCS staff member.

   If the barred individual has an ATB full access account with a bank card, they should bank at another branch of ATB for the duration of their bar. If they only have an ATB account that is accessible to them through Four Directions, they may come in to do their banking, but must leave once their transaction is complete.

   Both the Supervised Consumption Site and Four Directions have the right to deny individuals from accessing their services.

10. When all options for modifying an individual's behaviour have been exhausted, no staff person has a relationship with the individual, no staff person is willing to advocate for the individual and the individual's behaviour continues to threaten safety and security, the individual will be advised that they have an indefinite bar, cannot come to the community centre, and may not access Boyle Street services until their behaviour and intent changes. The individual will be advised that they will be charged with trespassing if they return to the centre or environs.

PROCEDURES

Barring Procedures

Bars are instituted following an incident. The length of a bar is determined through a discussion by the staff involved according to the guidelines below. People are advised of their bars at a time when they are able to hear and remember the incident and the rationale for the bar. At that time they are also advised of their right to appeal and the procedure to follow when their bar is up.

The bar process is as follows:

1. The incident, the proposed length of the bar to be imposed and the follow-up required will be recorded in the Concierge logbook. All staff can impose a one day bar without managerial authorization.

Staff and Management will back one another in front of clients. If there is any concern with a bar, it should be discussed later and in private.

2. If the proposed bar is longer than three days, the staff member making the bar needs to get managerial authorization for the bar. If possible, the managerial authorization needs to be from the staff member's direct manager. If their manager is not available within 24 hours they need to go to another manager. An indefinite bar must be authorized by the Executive Director.
3. For longer bars, or bars that involve assault, weapons, or threats of intended violence, an incident report with the agreed bar and follow up required (once signed off by the appropriate manager) should be sent/copied to the Director of Operations and/or the Drop-In Manager.
4. The bar should be communicated to all community centre staff by email.
5. The community member receiving the bar should be informed of the length and reason for the bar. If the person is receiving an indefinite bar, that should be communicated to them in writing from the Executive Director.

Appeal Procedures

A person who has been barred –for longer than a week only - may appeal the bar at any time by making a request to any staff member. There is no appeal for a bar that is a week or shorter. The process of the appeal will be determined by the Director of Operations. For the appeal of an indefinite ban, the Executive Director will make the final decision. The person who has been barred has the right to have an advocate present at the appeal. The appeal will be conducted in a manner that is fair and unbiased and facilitates positive outcomes.

Length of Bar Guidelines

One-Day Bar

Possession – when a person is caught with alcohol, illicit drugs, or solvents on them in the building - *ask them to take the alcohol, illicit drugs, or solvents out of the building, or put them out of sight. If they refuse to comply with staff they may be barred.*

Using – when any person is caught using alcohol or illicit drugs (this includes injecting drugs) in the community centre, outside of designated areas such as Safe Consumption Sites.

Aggressive or Threatening Behaviour – when behaviour is such that a person or persons fear for their safety, if the situation can't be de-escalated. This also includes continual yelling after being given one warning.

The first priority for staff is to prevent a challenging situation from either occurring or worsening. There are essentially three ways of addressing prevention of challenging behaviour:

1-addressing a person's general life situation
2-acting to defuse a challenging situation at its earliest stage
3-managing one's own behaviour appropriately.

Most conflict is about needs that have not been satisfied; often it is a result of psychological needs for control, recognition, affection, and respect. Problems arise in satisfying these needs when difficult behavior is rewarded.

What doesn't work? Ignoring the behavior, responding in kind, blaming rather than problem solving, labeling the person as difficult and trying to psychoanalyze.

No magic, nothing up your sleeve, changing behavior takes time, skill and a sense of humor about yourself and life.

Aggressive or Continual Verbal Abuse – when there are threats or other forms of verbal harassment.

Up to a One-Week Bar (manager's approval required above 3 days)

Cumulative – when a person has received a third one-day bar within a one- month period, this can be extended to one week.

Inciting – when aggression or verbal or non-verbal behaviour, specifically targeted or on-going, is inciting the start or continuation of a physical altercation.

Up to a Two-Week Bar (manager's approval required)

Property Damage – when there is damage to Boyle Street property (including artwork) that is deliberate, or that results from violent behaviour. For property damage a 'working bar' – where the community members works off the cost (determined by the Building Manager) of the damage at minimum wage - can be substituted.

Fighting – when there is a physical altercation between two or more people; the bar will include all people who participated in the fight.

Selling Alcohol/Drugs – when anyone is caught selling alcohol or drugs on Boyle Street property. This includes non-illicit drugs.

Discrimination – when a person is found harassing an individual or group based on race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation or self-identification.

Sexual Harassment – when a person is caught, or reported as verbally or non-verbally harassing another individual or group in a sexually explicit way.

Theft from Open Area (Drop-In, Reception, Front of Building) – when there is proof that property has been stolen from an open area (ex. cell phone plugged in a wall, backpack). A bar for theft cannot be placed by assumption or suspicion alone.

Up to a Two-Month Bar (manager's approval required)

Serious Threats of Violence Towards Staff – when people threaten staff with physical violence.

Assaults – when a person is (for example) hit, inappropriately touched in a sexual or threatening way, spat at, or has coffee/chairs/etc. thrown at them without provocation or preceding interaction. Assault would apply to someone who starts a fight without the other person participating.

Possession of Weapons – when a person is visibly carrying a weapon and refuses to remove it from the building or put it out of sight when asked.

Theft from Closed Area (Staff Office, Kitchen, Behind Reception Counter) – when there is proof that property has been stolen from a closed area (ex. staff cell phone, laptop, mail, food or kitchen equipment). A bar for theft cannot be placed by assumption or suspicion alone.

Up to a Six-Month Bar (manager's approval required)

Use of Weapons – when a person involved in a physical altercation uses any object as a weapon.

Succession of Bars – when as few as 3 one week bars have been received in a 3 month period.

Indefinite Bar *longer than 6 months* (Executive Director's approval required)

Serious Assault on a Staff or Community Member – an assault, including sexual, that requires medical and/or psychological attention and where charges may have been laid.

Exploitative Dealing – when a dealer, who is not a member of our community and who is not receiving services, comes to Boyle Street purely to prey on our community members.

Succession of Bars – when more than 3 one month bars have been received in a 6 month period.

Major Damage to the Building – attempted arson or widespread and costly damage.

Continual Discrimination or Sexual Harassment – when a person has been barred more than once and has been warned that the behaviour is absolutely not tolerated, but continues to harass members based on race, religion, gender, sexual orientation or identification, or in a sexually explicit way (including exposure and/or non-consented physical touch).

Trespassing Charges

When:

- all options for modifying an individual's behaviour have been exhausted,
- no staff person has a relationship with the individual,
- no staff person is willing to advocate for the individual and,
- the individual's behaviour continues to threaten safety and security,

The matter will be reviewed at a management meeting and a decision made regarding trespass charges.

If there is consensus regarding elevation to trespass charging, the individual will be advised in writing that:

- he or she is not welcome at Boyle Street and may not access agency services until his or her behaviour and intent change
- he or she will be charged with trespassing if they return to the community centre (a written note outlining this will be given to the individual).

The Executive Director will advise Edmonton Police Service that the person is subject to the EPS ban protocol.

If the person reappears at Boyle Street, staffs do not intervene. The Beat officers on duty are called and EPS handles the individual. EPS will warn and subsequently bar the individual.

The decision to proceed with trespassing charges cannot be appealed. However, if the individual's behaviour and intent change, he or she may make a request to the Executive Director to have the matter reviewed. If the Executive Director decides that a review is warranted, it will be conducted using the same procedure as for an appeal. If the review panel decides that trespassing charges are no longer necessary, EPS will be notified.

Laying Criminal Charges

Any individual involved in an altercation with another individual may press charges. If this is the case, Boyle Street will provide support to facilitate the laying of charges.

In the case of death threats and physical assaults, victims will be encouraged to lay charges if this will facilitate redress for them as victims and/or if the laying of such charges may affect a system intervention that enables Boyle Street to advocate for appropriate treatment and care of the perpetrator.

Charges for theft and property damage will depend on the extent and nature of the loss and whether or not such action might be beneficial to the organization or the perpetrator. Theft and property damage may be dealt with through restitution which would consist of closely supervised labour for a length of time at a fair wage that would cover the replacement of the theft or damage

If an incident involves the presence or use of a firearm on Boyle Street premises, Edmonton Police Service will be contacted immediately by calling 911 and any applicable criminal charges will be pursued.

Gang Activity

Boyle Street strives to be a gang free zone. Any gang activity on site is documented and monitored. Staff discussion will determine specific interventions.

Any person wearing or displaying gang related clothing, images or behaviours may be asked to modify their dress or actions or leave the building and environs if they fail to comply. Persistent gang activity could result in a bar to be determined by staff and management. Edmonton polices Services will be advised of individuals who consistently participate in gang activities/behaviours and do not access services at BSCS.

Tagging at Boyle Street will be documented with a photo. Location, date & time will be noted. Edmonton Police Services will be consulted as needed. Tagging will then be removed or painted over.

Appendix L – Agent Status

Edmonton

Police Service

9620 – 103A Aveune
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T5H 0H7
Ph: 780-421-3333

Business/Company Name and Address

Date:

To Whom It May Concern:

Re: Occurrence No: _____

I, _____, as owner/representative of a property at

(owner/representative's name)

_____

(include address with name of business)

Edmonton, Alberta, do hereby authorize all police officers of the Edmonton Police Service ("EPS") to act as my agent pursuant to the *Trespass to Premises Act* and the *Petty Trespass Act*. As my authorized representative, any police officer may issue and enforce bans against any person who, in their sole discretion, is determined to be a trespasser on the property, and to affect their purpose, are further authorized to enter onto any portion of the above noted property.

In order to assist EPS with identifying the location as one which has designated Agent Status to the EPS, the EPS will provide a sticker that I will display in a place open to public view.

The authorization to ban or enforce bans is in effect 24 hours/day. This authorization is intended to remain in effect until revoked in writing, at which time the sticker should be removed and returned to the EPS. If the existing owner/representative of the business/property listed upon this document is leaving the business/property as the owner/representative, they must notify the EPS of such, thus terminating this agreement.

With respect,

_____

(Owner/Representative)

_____

_____

Submitted by Reg #: _____ Name: _____

Appendix M – Winter Emergency Response Protocol

Winter Emergency Response Guide 2018-19

Version 1.6: April 03, 2019

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Outreach, Transport and Crisis Services 22

homeward trust edmonton

211®

CONTENTS

Overview and Methodology

This resource guide was prepared in partnership with Alberta 211 – Edmonton and Area and Homeward Trust. Homeward Trust coordinates the Winter Emergency Response (WER) Strategic Planning Committee and communications activities for WER. The guide contains basic information about agencies, drop-ins, shelters and transportation services operating during the 2018-2019 winter season. The provided information includes regular hours of operation, extended hours if available for the winter season, and general information about services and resources. *

The information in this guide was provided verbatim by agency representatives in telephone and email conversations through 211 representatives. The list of agencies included here was populated from suggestions put forward by members of the WER Strategic Planning Committee, of which, those included were deemed most relevant during the winter months.

The WER Resource Guide is compiled in November at the start of each WER season. It will be updated monthly unless major changes are needed, and will be distributed by 211 Alberta – Edmonton and Area as well as made available online at http://homewardtrust.ca/. When printing, please remember the WER Guide may not capture unanticipated changes in agency hours and activities during the season. For a more comprehensive list of agencies, services, and the latest information, please contact 211.

***In emergency situations, please call 911 directly.**

Reporting Changes

If you notice incorrect information regarding a service or agency you are involved with, please report those changes to 211 Alberta – Edmonton and Area by dialing 2-1-1 or by emailing info@211edmonton.com. Changes will be reflected in the next version of the WER Guide.

Boyle Street Community Services – Drop-In

Address	10116 - 105 Avenue (Drop-In accessible through front entrance)
Phone	780-424-4106
Website	www.boylestreet.org
Clients	All are welcome
Hours	• Monday to Sunday: 8:00am – 8:00pm
Food	• Lunch is served Monday to Sunday at 11:30am.
Services	• Housing Services • Mental Health Support and assistance connecting to medical care • Information and resources to substance abuse treatment programs, and services (Mobile Outreach and Addiction Team) • Aboriginal Residential School Survivors, supports • Inner City Recreation & Wellness Program • Family and Youth Services • Clean needle exchange (partnered with Street Works) • Referrals to applicable programming, ID storage, assistance completing forms • Inner City Connections in collaboration with Child and Family Services • *Waterwings* - an Employment Readiness Program

Jasper Place Wellness Centre – Drop-In

Address	15626 – 100 A Avenue
Phone	780-481-4001
Website	www.jpwc.ca
Clients	All
Hours	**Regular Program & Services** Monday to Thursday: 9:00am – 11:00am
Hours	**Medical Clinic** October to November 22nd, 2018: Monday to Wednesday: 9:00am – 12:00pm, and Wednesdays and Thursdays: 1:30pm – 4:30pm Starting November 23rd, 2018 until April 2019: Thursdays 2:30pm – 7:00pm
Hours	**Winter Warming Hours Drop – In** Monday to Sunday: 6:00pm – 9:00 pm Connection to housing, coffee and snacks, winter coats, hats, gloves, first aid, safe injection supplies, and basic toiletries available • Computer skills • Financial skills • Income tax clinic

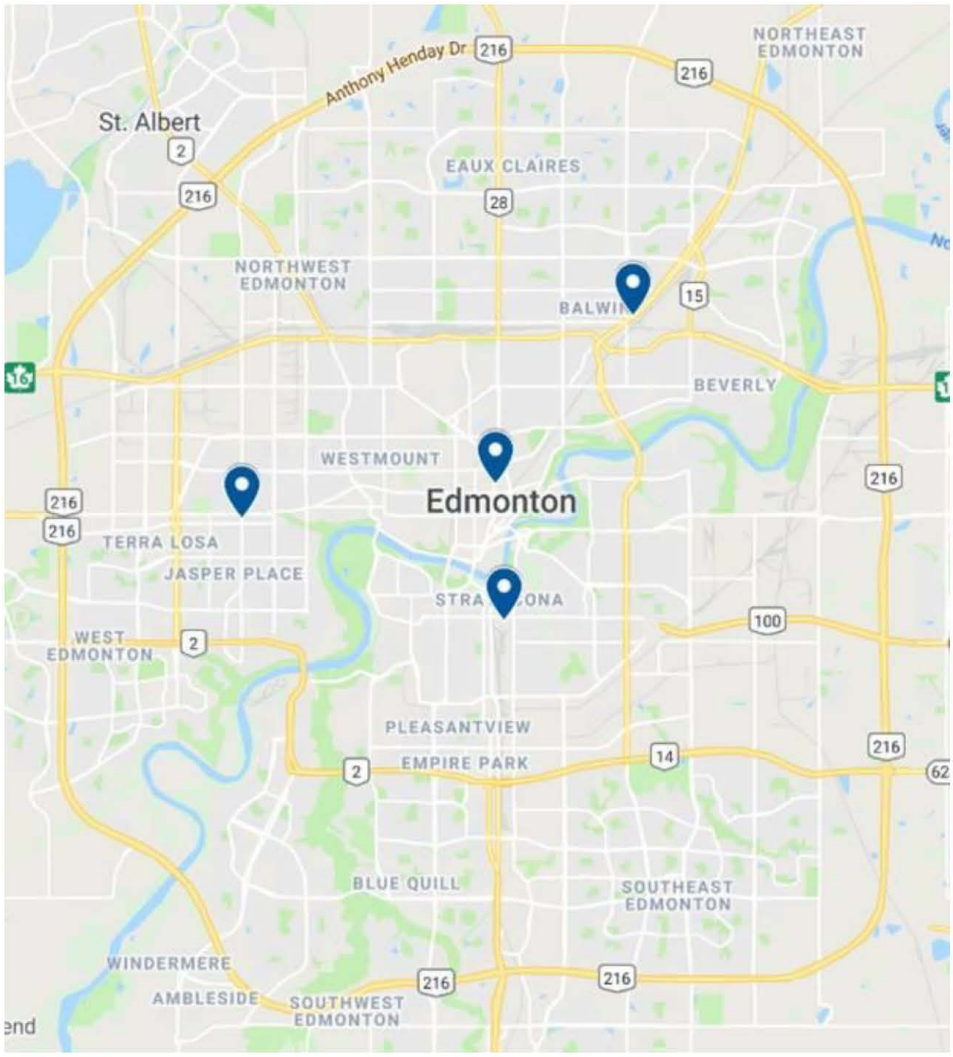
Mosaic Centre – Drop-In

Address	12758 Fort Road
Phone	780-722-3247
Website	www.mosaiccentre.com
Clients	Adults
Hours	• **Drop-In Hours**: Monday to Thursday: 9:00am – 7:00pm Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Holidays: 4:00pm – 7:00pm • **Holiday Closures:** February 19, March 30, and April 1, 2019.
Services	• Soup, coffee and pre - packaged food • Emergency winter wear • First aid • Laundry and haircuts • Basic toiletries • Computer, telephone and fax access • Alcohol and drug recovery guidance • Cultural Programs • Foot Care • Collective Kitchen

The Neighbour Centre – Drop-In

Address	10050 81 Avenue NW
Phone	780-439-5216
Website	www.theseed.ca
Clients	All adults
Hours	• **Drop-In Hours:** Monday to Friday: 3:00pm – 10:00pm Sat to Sun: 5:00pm – 10:00pm • **Holiday Closures:** Closed December 24, 25, 2018, January 1, February 19, March 30, and April 1, 2019
Services	• Food (light meals and snacks, no food hampers) • Emergency Clothing • Showers, Laundry Facilities • Public Phone • Medical Services- first aid, medical foot care • Employment and life change support • Connections to housing resources • Indigenous resources • Games and musical instruments • Offers safe injection supplies

Map: WER Funded Agency Drop-Ins



Bissell Centre – Community Space

Address Bissell Centre West - 10530 - 96 Street
Phone 780-423-2285
Website www.bissellcentre.org
Clients 18 years and older

Hours

- **Drop-In Hours:** Monday to Friday: 8:00am – 2:00pm

Services

- Coffee, Snack and lunch items
- Laundry, showers & washrooms
- Various kitchen, education, culture, and arts programs.
- Housing Services
- Employment Services and Casual Labour (Monday – Friday 7:00am – 4:30pm December 24, 25, 26, 2018 and January 1, 2019)
- Taxes (Mondays 9:00am – 1:00pm)
- Community Closet offers free gently-used clothing and hygiene items (Monday to Friday 9:00am to 11:45am (can only be accessed once a week), closed stat holidays)
- Mental Health Community Liaison Program (by appointment)
- Fetal Alcohol Syndrome Supports (by appointment)
- Housing Supports (by appointment)
- Inner City Victim Services (by appointment)
- Respite Child Care (by appointment)
- Family Supports (by appointment)
- Free Programs occur throughout the week include: daily smudging, housing workshops, computer workshops, income tax filing, art classes, cooking classes, sharing circles.

Canadian Native Friendship Centre

Address 11728 - 95 Street
Phone 780-761-1900
Fax 780-760-1900
Clients All ages

Hours

- **Drop-In Hours:** Monday to Friday: 8:30am – 4:30pm
  Closed for lunch at 12:00pm – 1:00pm daily

Services

- Drop-in centre
- Coffee and snacks
- Resources, computers and referral services
- Culturally relevant programs including Cree language, Powwow dance practice, traditional arts and crafts, Metis Jigging

The Mustard Seed

Address	10635 96 Street
Phone	780-426-5600
Website	www.theseed.ca
Twitter	@themustardseed1 (Edmonton, Calgary, Sundre)
Clients	All **Note: Zero tolerance of alcohol and drugs, wheelchair inaccessible*
Hours	• **Drop-In Hours:** Tuesday to Saturday: 5:00pm – 10:00pm. Also offers various activities and programs outside drop-in hours. Contact for details.
Food	Tuesday to Friday: Dinner served from 7:00pm – 8:00pm Saturday: Dinner served from 5:00pm – 6:00pm Winter Solstice Lunch on December 19 from 12:00pm – 2:00pm. Everyone is welcome.

Services@10635 96st	**The Mustard Seed Main Building**
	• Women's Lunch Group: Wednesday at 10:30am – 1:00pm
	• Access to Employment Coach, and Life Coach: by appointment
	• Access to Wellness Advocate: 1:00 pm – 3:00pm on Tuesday, 5:00pm – 8:00pm on Thursday and 5:00pm – 7:00 pm on Friday, or by appointment
	• Afternoon activities: may vary during the season
	• Evening activities: 8:00pm – 9:30pm (sewing group, karaoke, Bible study, movies, recovery group, etc.), except art class 12:30pm – 2:30pm.
	• Food Bank
	  ○ Open to the public Tuesday and Thursday: 1:00pm, first come first served.
	  ○ Open to students and employed people: Wednesday 8:00pm, first come first served (*Must bring ID and live within the designated surrounding area)
	• Free bread available (depending on supply)

Services@10568 114 st	**Community Support Centre**
	• Personal Assistance Centre (PAC) offers free clothing, household and hygiene items
	  ○ Monday and Thursday: 1:00pm – 3:30pm
	  ○ Wednesday: 5:00pm – 7:30pm
	• Please note: ID is required when using the Food Bank and PAC services. PAC may be accessed one time per month.

Operation Friendship (McCauley Senior's) Drop-In Centre

Address	9526 106 Avenue
Phone	780-429-2626
Clients	Men and women 55 years and older
Hours	• Monday to Friday: 8:00am – 6:30pm • Saturday and Sunday: 10:30am – 6:30pm
Food	Monday to Friday:

	• Breakfast at 9:30am • Lunch at 12:00pm • Supper at 5:00pm
Services	• Access to outings for sporting events, festivals, swimming and more • Flu clinics, access to public health nurses • Showers, change of clothing, and haircuts • In-house recreation like board games, pool, and card

Dickinsfield Amity House – Main Site

Address	9213 146 Avenue
Phone	780-478-5022
Clients	All (those under 18 need to be accompanied by an adult)
Hours	• Monday to Friday: 8:30am – 4:00pm • Tuesday: 8:30am – 8:30pm
Food	Community lunch every first and third Wednesday of the month from 11:30am to 12:30pm
Services	• Social Worker • Free phone • Photocopies and fax • Clothing and small household items

Dickinsfield Amity House – Londonderry Site

Address	Londonderry Community League, 14224 74 Street (second floor)
Phone	780-412-1062
Clients	All (those under 18 need to be accompanied by an adult)
Hours	• Monday, Wednesday, Friday: 8:30am – 12:00pm, and 1:00pm – 4:00pm
Food	• Community lunch on the second Friday of the month from 11:30am to 12:30pm
Services	• Outreach

Youth Drop-In Centres

Boyle Street Community Services - Youth Unit

Address	10116 – 105 Avenue
Phone	587-336-5480 (Youth Outreach Worker)
Website	www.boylestreet.org
Clients	Youth 16 to 24 years
Hours	• Monday to Thursday: 9:00am – 4:30pm • Friday: 1:00pm – 4:30pm • Closed 12:00pm to 1:00pm
Services	• Basic needs provision, including clothing, warm meals, hot showers • High Risk Youth project with services that focus on self-care and harm-reduction • Links to other BSCS services and resources, including Housing and Mental Health supports, and Recreation and Cultural programs.

Old Strathcona Youth Society

Address	10325 83 Ave NW
Phone	780-496-5947
Website	www.osys.ca
Clients	Youth aged 14-24
Hours	• Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday: 1:00pm to 9:00pm • Friday and Saturday: 2:00pm – 6:00pm
Services	• Streetworks on Tuesdays: 4:00pm to 6:00pm • Student Legal Services every other Wednesday • Boyle McCauley Health Nurses on every other Thursday • Movie Night Thursday • Collective kitchen on Fridays • Recreation on Saturdays

iHuman Youth Society

Address	9635-102A Avenue
Phone	780-421-8811
Website	www.ihuman.org
Clients	Youth 12 to 24 years
Hours	• Monday to Friday: 1:00pm to 6:00pm;
Services	• Art and design, music, and fashion programs that foster positive self-worth and encourage reintegration into the community • Referrals to addictions counselling, legal advocacy, or human services

	• Hot beverage, snacks, clothing and toiletries • Free mental health clinic and access to medical support on site

Tegler Youth Centre (Hope Mission)

Address	3805 118 Avenue NW Edmonton, AB T5W 0Z8
Phone	780-448-5820
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Youth in grades 6 to 12 (a waiver needs to be signed by a parent or legal guardian)
Hours	• Monday to Friday: 3:00pm – 8:00 pm • Saturday: 3:00pm – 7:00pm
Activities	• Climbing wall • Indoor skate park • Games room and Media Arts Centre • Mentorship for youth

Crystal Kids Youth Centre

Address	8718 118 Avenue
Phone	780-479-5283 ext. 227 780-479-5753 ("Kids" Line)
Website	www.crystalkids.org
Clients	Youth, Seniors
Hours	**Centre for Youth Hours:** • Monday and Tuesday: 3:00pm – 8:00pm • Wednesday: 3:00pm – 6:00pm • Thursday: 1:30pm – 8:00pm • Friday: 3:00pm – 8:00pm (extended hours for teens ages 13 – 18 until 10:00pm) • Saturday: 11:00am – 5:00pm • Extended hours available on Fridays for teens aged 13 to 18 years from 8:00 PM to 10:00 PM. • Seniors breakfast on Wednesday mornings from 11:30am – 12:45 pm
Food	• Daily after school snacks • Supper at 5:00 pm • Saturday mid-afternoon meals
Services	• Outreach Worker • Literacy Program

Youth Empowerment and Support Services (YESS) Armoury Centre

Address	10310 85 Avenue
Phone	780-468-7070 ext. 305
Website	www.yess.org
Clients	Youth 15-24 years
Hours	• Monday to Friday: 9:00am – 4:00pm
Services	• Employment program, recreational activities, workshops, community presentations, housing referrals, QSA • Medical care: Monday afternoon, Wednesday and Friday mornings • Addictions and mental health referrals, needle exchange program • Showers, laundry, access to personal care items, clothing, hot meals and healthy snacks • The above services are available during Resource Hours from Mon-Fri 9am-4pm. All other hours are Winter Drop-In Hours and offer limited services.

Hope Mission

Address	9908 106 Avenue
Phone	780-422-2018
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	All are welcome; light tolerance for intoxication
Hours	Monday to Friday: • Breakfast: 7:30am – 8:45am • Lunch: 12:00pm – 12:45pm • Dinner: 5:00pm – 5:45pm Weekends and Holidays: • Brunch: 10:45am • Dinner: 4:15pm

Marian Centre

Address	10528 98 Street
Phone	780-424-3544
Website	www.mariancentreedmonton.ca
Clients	All
Hours	Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday: • Lunch at 12:30pm – 1:15pm Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday: • Sandwiches (back door) at 2:00pm – 3:00pm **Holiday Closures:** April 19 – 22, 2019. Also closed at the end of every month from about days during the cheque week.
Services	Clothing: • Fridays at 10:30am –11:30pm

The Rock Outreach

Address	11004 – 96 Street
Phone	780-426-1122
Email	info@therockedm.ca
Clients	All
Hours	Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday: Hot Breakfast at 7:00am – 9:00am

Robertson Wesley United Church

Address	10209 123 Street
Phone	780-482-1587
Website	www.rwuc.org
Clients	All are welcome
Hours	• Community dinner on the second Saturday of each month at 5:00pm – 6:00pm, except in December.

- Magic Pantry Bagged Lunches are available Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays from 12:00 pm -1:00 pm.

Trinity Lutheran Church

Address 10014 81 Avenue
Phone 780-433-1604
Clients All

Hours Runs early October to early June on the first and third Tuesday of each month:
- Dinner at 6:00pm to 8:00pm

Edmonton's Food Bank

Address 11508 – 120 Street (Main Location)
Phone 780-425-4190
Website www.edmontonsfoodbank
Clients All who require food assistance, based on need

Hours
- Monday to Friday: 8:30am – 4:00pm

Note: Provide valid identification for each person in your household and proof of Edmonton residency (eg. bills, rent receipt)

Bread Runs:

Southside
Garneau United Church 11148-84 Avenue
- Time: Saturdays from 8:00am to 9:30am.

Southside
Millwoods United Church
- 15 Grand Meadow Crescent
- Time: Saturdays from 10:00am to 11:00am

Northside
Freedom Centre
- 4925-134 Avenue
- Time: Wednesdays, open at 9:30am from 10:00am to 11:00am

Free Bread

West End
Jasper Place Child and Family Resource Society
Cabrini Centre Main floor 16811 88 Avenue 780-489-2243
- Monday and Tuesday 8:30am to 6:00pm

North Side
Dickenfield Amity House (2 locations)- 9213- 146 Avenue 780-478-5022
- Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday 9:00 am - until bread is gone

Londonderry Community League Hall 144224-74 Street 2nd Floor 780-412-1062
- Monday, Wednesday, Friday 9:00 am – until bread is gone

Salvation Army Addictions & Residential Centre

Address	9611 – 102 Avenue
Phone	780-429-4274
Clients	All
Hours	Fridays: • Free breakfast from 7:30am – 8:00am Wednesdays: • Free afternoon soup from 3:00pm – 4:00pm Daily bread bin between 9:00am and 3:00pm on a first - come, first - served basis depending on availability.

Hope Mission Shelter Information

Please Note: Clients may visit the office at Hope Mission, 9908 – 106 Avenue (main entrance) to speak to staff 24/7, about shelter hours and information.

Hope Mission Warming Shelter

Address	9908 – 106 Avenue
Phone	780-422-2018
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Couples, single males, 24 years and older, people with low mobility, light tolerance for intoxication
Hours	• Opens at 8:00pm • Check in at 8:30pm to 12:00am • Clients leave at 6:45am
Capacity	140 mats

Hope Mission Herb Jamieson Centre

Address	10014 105A Avenue
Phone	780-429-3470
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Males only, 24 years and older Light tolerance for intoxication
Hours	• Opens at 7:00pm • At 7:30am clients leave **except** people with a medical note and people who work at night • New clients register for service – daily 2:00 pm to 3:00 pm
Capacity	319 beds

Hope Mission Intox Centre 24/7

Address	9908 106 Avenue
Phone	780-422-2018
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Males only, 16 years and older, under severe influence of drugs or alcohol; beds available for males and females with low mobility, low intoxication
Hours	24 hours a day • Day intake from 9:00am to 2:00pm • Night intake at 8:30pm (no shut down)
Capacity	70 mats

Hope Mission Women's Emergency Shelter (WEM)

Address	9908 106 Avenue
Phone	780-422-2018
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Females, 16 years and older, light tolerance for intoxication
Hours	• Open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week • Registration at 8:00pm – 8:30 am • Clients already registered for the night may stay during the day
Capacity	70 beds

Hope Mission MEN - Day Shelter

Address	Trailers – (by the Herb Jamieson location, 10014 105A Avenue)
Phone	780-422-2018
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Males 16 years and older, light intoxication
Hours	• Opens at 7:30am • Closes at 8:00pm
Capacity	50 mats

Hope Mission (Youth)

Address	Trailers – (by the Herb Jamieson location, 10014 105A Avenue)
Phone	780-422-2018
Website	www.hopemission.com
Clients	Youth, 16-24 years, light intoxication
Hours	• Opens at 9:00pm • Last intake at 2:00am • Closes at 8:00am
Capacity	65 mats

The George Spady Centre Society

Address	10015 105A Avenue
Phone	780-424-8335
Clients	Men or women, 18 years and older, under the influence
Hours	24/7 • Intake begins at 8:00pm, runs until space is no longer available. • Clients must leave by 7:00am. **Daytime**: • 20 daytime mats during winter warming for intoxicated individuals

Services	• Showers in and laundry Service • Meals provided • Basic health care needs addressed • Referral to medical and mental health services if needed • Safety information provided • Information about treatment options provided • Housing First referrals for Coordinated Access
Capacity	• 60 mats for men • 20 daytime mats for intoxicated individuals • 6 detox beds for women • 21 detox beds for men

Women's Emergency Accommodation Centre (WEAC)

Address	9611 - 101A Avenue
Phone	780-423-5302
Website	www.e4calberta.org
Clients	Women only (including transgender women), 18 years and older
Hours	• Open 24/7. But closed every fourth Friday of the month between 9:00am – 4:00pm for cleaning. • New intake sign - up begins at 7:00am • Register by phone. Clients will be contacted as beds become available; clients without a phone may check back frequently for availability. • Residents have a 12:00am curfew
Food	Meals for residents: • Breakfast (self-serve): 8:00am – 8:45am • Lunch (self-serve): 12:00pm – 1:00pm • Supper (self-serve): 4:30pm – 5:20pm
Capacity	64 Beds 40 beds - double occupancy rooms 24 beds - dorm – room setting

Youth Empowerment and Support Services (YESS) – Nexus Shelter

Address	9310 82 Avenue
Phone	780-468-7070 ext. 232
Clients	Male, female, and transgender youth 15-21 years; zero tolerance for drugs, alcohol and weapons. Youth 15 years require consent of legal guardian.
Hours	• Intake begins at 9:00pm • Clients leave at 8:30am

Services	• Showers and laundry • Food • Clothing and toiletries • Referrals to other resources and access to youth workers
Capacity	24 beds

Salvation Army Addictions & Residential Centre: Transitional Housing

Address	9611 - 102 Avenue
Phone	780-429-4274
Clients	Men only, 18 years and older. Low tolerance for behaviour such as clients who are threatening to harm self or others
Hours	Intake 24/7 • Clients must vacate rooms between 10:00 AM - 3:00 PM but can remain in building. Curfew is 12:00 midnight
Food	• Breakfast, Lunch, Supper available for purchase
Capacity	66 Private Rooms ($15/night) 82 Dormitory Beds ($12/night)

E4C Youth Housing Program (Transitional Housing)

Phone	Referral Line: 780-479-7075 (Self-referrals over the phone), Monday to Friday: 9:00am – 5:00pm Crisis Unit: 780-427-3390 (After-Hours Emergency Placements)
Clients	Youth 14-17 years
Hours	24/7
Services	• Showers and laundry • Breakfast, and dinner • Bus tickets • Clothing and hygiene items • Referrals to other programs and access to support
Capacity	15 beds

Community and Social Services Crisis Unit - Financial Benefit

Phone	780-644-5135 or 1-866-644-5135 (toll free)
Clients Served	Families, singles, and childless couples – subject to eligibility
Hours	Available 24 hours
Service	• For unexpected, emergency situations that present a severe health or safety risk • May cover: food, clothing household items, basic transportation, emergency medical needs, temporary shelter

Child and Family Services – Child Intervention Services

Phone	24 Hour Crisis Unit: 780-422-2001 24 Hour Child Abuse Hot Line: 1-800-387-5437 After-hours office at 1-800-638-0715 (Press 1 for Red Deer or south of Red Deer; Press 2 for north of Red Deer).
Clients Served	Families with children under the age of 18 years
Services	• Responds directly to emergency situations and to concerns from people in the community about children who might need protection • Offers referrals for further assessment, and investigates and protects children at risk • Offers information, resources, and support for children and families in crisis

Mental Health Crisis Response Team

Phone	780-342-7777
Clients Served	Adults facing a mental health crisis
Hours	24/7
Services	Mental health assessment

Boyle McCauley Health Centre (Medical Clinic)

Address	10628 96 Street
Phone	780-422-7333 dial 3 for medical clinic If no answer, try calling again - do not leave a message on the voice mail.
Website	www.bmhc.net
Clients Served	Individuals and families with complex health and psycho-social needs who are experiencing multiple barriers to accessing health care providers.

Hours	**Clinic Hours:** Mon to Thurs: 8:00am – 8:00pm Fri: 8:00am – 4:30pm Sat: 9:00am – 12:00pm **Closed all stats.** **Walk-ins are seen only in the evenings (5:00pm – closing) and on Saturdays from 9:00am to 12:00pm.**

Edmonton Emergency Relief Services

Address	10255 104 Street
Phone	780-428-4422
Clients	Victims of fire or other disasters, working poor, newcomers, and people dealing with homelessness.
Hours	Mid-October to mid-May: • Monday to Friday from 9:00am – 3:00pm **Closed all stats.**
Services	• Blankets and winter outerwear

211

Phone	211
Clients	Individuals of all ages, service providers and 'helping – professionals' who are searching out services for their clients
Hours	Available 24 hours, 7 days a week
Service	• Information and referrals for childcare, parenting, government subsidies, employment, addictions, legal services, counselling, support groups, education, family and domestic violence issues, basic needs, immigrant / newcomer services, medical concerns, mental health issues, youth programs and more

Distress Line

Phone	780-482-4357 (HELP)
Hours	Available 24 hours, 7 days a week
Service	• A confidential and non-judgmental listening service for people experiencing difficulties, challenges or loss in their lives, suicidal crisis and / or abusive situations

Outreach, Transport and Crisis Services

24/7 Crisis Diversion Team

Phone	**Call 211 and press 3** to access the dispatch line
Clients Served	People experiencing non-emergency/non-violent crisis in Edmonton
Hours	24/7, 365 days a year
Services	211 and EPS dispatch 24/7 teams from: • Boyle Street Community Services • HOPE Mission (Man Down Van) may provide bag lunches, hot – chocolate, clothing and other basic needs items The teams provide crisis intervention services when someone is: • Experiencing a medical or mental health (non-emergency) crisis • There is a potential safety concern for the individual involved • Possibly intoxicated, or otherwise impaired Please note the van has some capacity to provide response to clients with limited mobility and/or wheelchair access **In emergency situations, call 911 directly.** **For a non-emergency crisis, call 211 and press 3 to dispatch the 24/7 Crisis Diversion Team.** **In extreme weather conditions* during the WER season, one of the 24/7 Crisis Diversion priorities is to transport people to safe and warm places.** ***Please see the Extreme Weather Protocol for Winter Emergency Response on the Homeward Trust website for more information.**

Boyle Street Community Services – Winter Warming Bus

Phone	780-554-2795
Client	All, (but wheel chair inaccessible)
Hours	December 07, 2018 – April 30, 2019 Monday to Saturday: 2:00pm – 9:15pm Sunday: 1:00pm – 8:15pm
Food	Snacks, sandwiches, hot – chocolate, coffee
Items	Blankets, winter clothing
Service	Transportation to warming centres and shelters

Outreach, Transport and Crisis Services

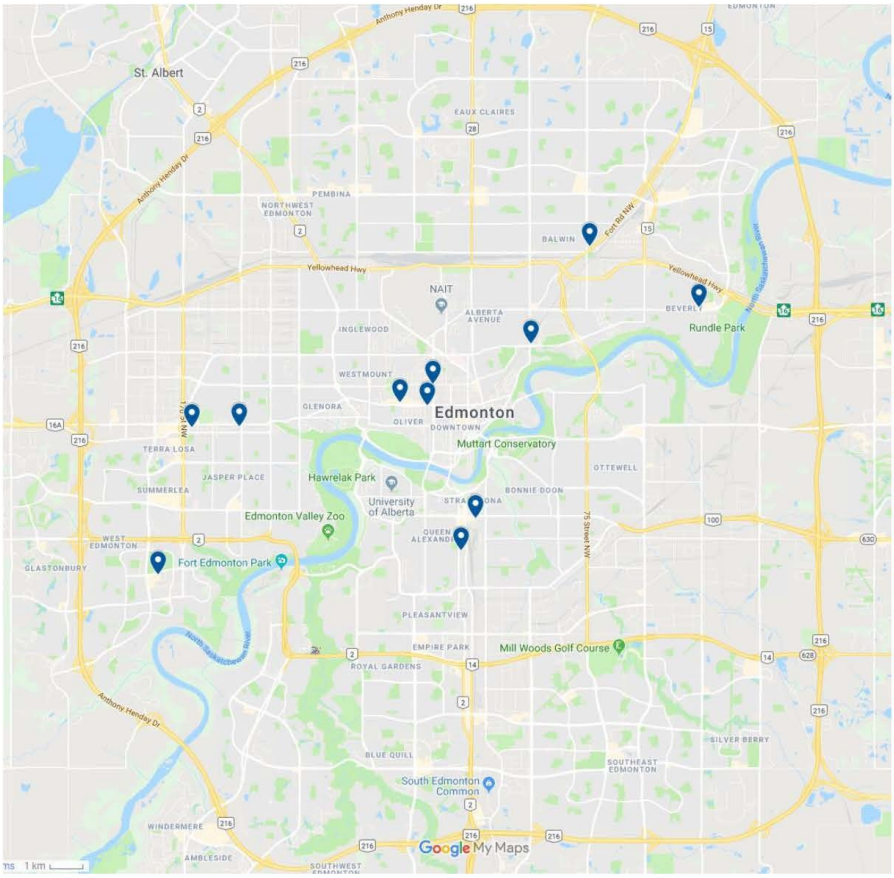
Winter Warming Bus Pick-up Schedule:

Monday to Saturday Locations	Time
Centennial Bottle Depot (10036 168 St NW)	2:00-3:15 p.m.
Callingwood McDonald's (6741 177 St NW)	3:30-4:15 p.m.
McDonald's (8132 112 Ave NW)	5:45-6:15 p.m.
Strathcona Bottle Depot (10347 73 Ave NW)	4:30-5:30 p.m.
Abbottsfield Library (3410 119 Ave NW)	6:15-6:30 p.m.
Mosaic Centre (12758 Fort Rd NW)	6:30-7:00 p.m.
Neighbour Centre (10050 81 Ave NW)	8:45-9:15 p.m.
7-11 Convenience Store (10658 109 St NW)	7:15-7:30 p.m.
Jasper Place Wellness Centre (15626 100A Ave NW)	8:00-8:15 p.m.
Oliver Square McDonald's (11660 104 Ave NW)	7:45-8:00 p.m.
Tim Hortons (10365 111 St NW)	7:30-7:45 p.m.

Sunday Locations	Time
Centennial Bottle Depot (10036 168 St NW)	1:00-2:15 p.m.
Callingwood McDonald's (6741 177 St NW)	2:30-3:15 p.m.
McDonald's (8132 112 Ave NW)	4:45-5:15 p.m.
Strathcona Bottle Depot (10347 73 Ave NW)	3:30-4:30 p.m.
Abbottsfield Library (3410 119 Ave NW)	5:15-5:30 p.m.
Mosaic Centre (12758 Fort Rd NW)	5:30-6:00 p.m.
Neighbour Centre (10050 81 Ave NW)	7:45-8:15 p.m.
7-11 Convenience Store (10658 109 St NW)	6:15-6:30 p.m.
Jasper Place Wellness Centre (15626 100A Ave NW)	7:00-7:15 p.m.
Oliver Square McDonald's (11660 104 Ave NW)	6:45-7:00 p.m.
Tim Hortons (10365 111 St NW)	6:30-6:45 p.m.

Outreach, Transport and Crisis Services

MAP - Winter Warming Bus Stop Locations



Outreach, Transport and Crisis Services

Salvation Army Crossroads Women's Outreach Van

Phone	587-990-9708
Clients Served	Women
Hours	Call for information

Streetworks Van

Phone	780-990-6641
Clients Served	All (in the inner city)
Hours	Every night from 8:30pm – 12:00am Tuesday and Thursday from 1:00pm to 3:30pm • Individuals can call for pick-up of used sharps containers and drop-ff of safe-injection supplies and condoms. Cannot provide transport or crisis response.

AHS EMS (City Centre Paramedic Response Unit)

Phone	780-407-3666
Clients	Individuals in need of urgent or emergent crisis response
Hours	Monday to Thursday: 7:00am – 5:30pm (winter hours TBD)
Services	• Medical Assessment • Minor Treatments • Connection to Primary Care or Addiction and Mental Health • Assist with connection to other services

E4C Crossroads Outreach Van

Phone	780-405-6539 (Outreach) 780-474-7421 (Drop-in)
Clients Served	Adults engaged in street-based sex work and survival sex work
Hours	**Street Outreach Hours (location varies):** • Tuesday 9:30pm – 12:00am • Friday and Saturday 9:30pm – 1:00am **Drop-In Hours (call for address):** • Fridays 4:50pm – 7:20pm • Saturdays 4:00pm – 7:00pm • Sundays 4:00pm – 7:00pm

Outreach, Transport and Crisis Services

The funding for the Winter Emergency Response Program was provided through Homeward Trust Edmonton by the resources of the Government of Alberta and the City of Edmonton. These funds are distributed between the following WER funded agencies:

- Boyle Street Community Services Drop-In
- Jasper Place Wellness Centre Drop-In
- Mosaic Centre Drop-In
- Neighbour Centre